CERTAINE SERMONS

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127.5

AND

LETTERS of DEFENCE

AND

RESOLUTION,

TO

Some of the late CONTROVERSIES OF OUR TIMES.

By JAS: MAYNE, D.D.

LONDON,
Printed for R. ROYSTON, at the Angel in Ivie-lane.
1653.

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Fairbrd Nov 7, 1922 9K

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OR,

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At a publick dispute held there,

Between JASPER MAYNE, D.D.

And one———

MAT. 13. 47.

Ὁμοία ἐστὶν ἡ βασιλεία τῶν οὐρανῶν σαγήνῃ βληθείσῃ εἰς τὴν θάλασσαν, καὶ ἐκ παντὸς γένους συναγαγούσῃ.

LONDON,

Printed for R. ROYSTON, at the Angel in Ivie-lane, 1652.

A
SERMON
AGAINST
SCHISM.
OR,

Preach'd in the Church of Newington in Oxford-shire, with some Enlargements.

September 11. 1673.

At a publick dispute held there,

Between JASPER MAYNE, D.D.

And one ——————

MAT. 18. 17.

Quicunque Ecclesiæ non audierit anathema sit. Ille Sanctus Pater ex vitio Scriptoris pro Gentili & Publicano.

LONDON,

Printed for R. ROYSTON, at the Angel in Ivie-lane, 1673.

THE PREFACE.

IF you please to turne to the 19. *Chapter* of the *Acts* of the *Apostles*, and to read from the 24. to the 33. *verse* of that *Chapter*, there is there mention made of a great Assembly, and concurse of *people*; Who upon the Instigation of one *Demetrius*, a *Silver-Smith*, were confusedly drawne together into a *publick Theater*. And when they were met there, the *Confusion* was so great, that the *Theater* for the time, was quite changed into a *Babel*; there was a perfect Division of *Speech*, and *Tongues* among them, scarce any two spoke the same *Language*; For *some cryed out one Thing, and some cryed out Another*, as you may read at the 32. v. of that Chap. Rudeneſſe, Clamour, Tumult, Noyſe, was all that issued from them. Nay 'twas a *Meeting* so confused, so wholly void of Reason, that the greatest part knew not why they were come together, as you may read in the end, and close of that verse. And hence 'tis, that when Saint *Paul* would have ingaged himselfe among them, and would have preacht to them to *convert* and turne them from their Errour, 'Tis said at the 31. verse of that Chapter, That some of the *chief* of *Asia*, who were his *Friends*, sent to him, and desired him, that he would not adventure himselfe among such a rude, Tempestuous rout of *people*.

And now, if you desire to know why I have sayd this to you,

'tis to let you see, First, That this hath partly been my case, I have been sent, nay spoken to, by some *persons* of *Quality* and *Honour*, not to ingage my selfe among such a mixt *Multitude* as this; where my *Affronts* may be great, but my *successe*, and *Harvest* small: And to speak truth to you, if I had been left to the peaceableness of my owne quiet Temper, (which never did delight in *stormes*, nor to dispute with *Fire*.) If the fierce, and eager Importunity of *some* who have provokt me, had not drawn me from my *Judgement*, I should have followed their *Advice*, this *Meeting* had not beene. Nay, I should have lookt upon my *Appearance* here, as a *Distemper*, like to *theirs*, who have provoke and called me hither. For my coole and wiser Thoughts have still suggested to me, that to dispute of *Truth* with those who doe not understand it, is such a piece of *Madnesse*, as if I should dispute of *Colours* with a *Blind man*, of *Musicke* with a *Deafe*, or of the *Sent* of *Flowers* with *One* borne without a *Smell*.

Next, therefore, having so farre departed from my *Reason*, as to submit to a *Dispute* in this great publick *Meeting*, lest it should prove such a *confused Meeting*, as I described to you before; A *Meeting* where my *Logick* must fight *Duels* with Men made of Rudenesse, Tumult, Noyse; Or lest it should prove a *Meeting* where Men who can speak nought but *English*, shall yet speak *divers Tongues*; And where *some shall cry out one Thing, and some shall cry another*, I have made it my humble suit to some *persons* of *Honour* here present, that by their *presence* they will free the place from all such *wild Confusions*. And that, if I must dispute, I may dispute with *civill men*, and not undergoe Saint *Paul's* misfortune, who fought with *Beasts at Ephesus*.

Thirdly, lest this *Meeting* should prove like the *confused Meeting*, which I mention'd to you before, in one particular more; That is, lest the greatest part of you should not know why you are this day come together. Before I enter upon a full pursuit, or handling of this *Text*, it will be needfull that I tell you the occasion of this *Meeting*, which that I may the better doe, I shall desire you to beleeve, that 'tis not a *Meeting* of my *projection* or *Contrivance*. I appeare not here to raise a *Faction*, or to draw a *party* after me, nor to adde to the *Rents* of the *Country*,

ſtrey, which are too wide already. Nor am I come hither to revenge my ſelfe in the *Pulpit*, or to ſpeake ill of thoſe who have moſt lewdly railed at me. Let them wallow themſelves, as much as they pleaſe, in their owne groſſe filth, and mire; let them, if they pleaſe, be thoſe *raging Waves* of the *Sea*, which Saint *Jude* ſpeakes of, which are alwayes *foming out their owne ſhame*, when they have ſteept their *Tongues* in *Gall*, and ſpewd forth all their *Venome*, They ſhall not make me change my *Opinion*; which is, that to caſt *dirt* for *dirt*, or to returne *Ill-Language* for *Ill-Language*, is a courſe ſo unreaſonable, as if two Men ſhould fight a *Duell*, and chuſe a *Dunghill* for their *weapon*. As therefore, I am not come hither to ſhew my ſelfe *Malitious*, ſo I am not come hither to gaine *Applauſe*, or *Reputation* by this *Meeting*. No thirſt of *Fame*, no affection of *Victorie* hath drawne me from my *Study* to ſteppe into this *Pulpit*. I underſtand my owne *Infirmities* too well to be ſo ſelfe-conceited. O: if my Abilities were farre greater then they are, yet I have alwayes lookt on *Fame* thus got, to be ſo ſlight a Thing, as if a Man ſhould feed on *Ayre*, or make a meale of *ſhaddows*. Jude 13.

Not to hold you therefore any longer in ſuſpenſe, if you, who know it not already, deſire to know the true occaſion of this *Meeting*, 'tis briefely this; I have for ſome yeares (even with *Teares* in my eyes) ſeen one of the ſaddeſt curſes of the *Scripture* fulfill'd upon this *Nation*: With a *bleeding Heart* I ſpeake it, I have ſeene, not onely *three Kingdoms*, but our *Cityes*, *Towns*, and *Villages*, nay even our *private Familyes* divided againſt themſelves. I have ſeene the *Father* differing in opinion from the *Sonne*, and I have ſeene the *Sonne* differing in opinion from the *Father*. I have ſeene the *Mother* broken from the *Daughter*, and I have ſeen the *Daughter* divided from the *Mother*. Nay, our very *Marriage-Beds* have not ſcapt the curſe of *Separation*. Like *Jacob* and *Eſau* iſſuing from the ſame *wombe*, I have ſeene *two Twins* of *Separation* riſe from between the ſame *Curtains*. I have ſeen the *Wedlock knot* quite untyed in *Religion*; I have ſeene the *Husband* in oppoſition to the *Wife*, goe to one, and I have ſeene the *Wife* in oppoſition to her *Husband*, for many yeares together, goe to another *Congregation*. In a Word (my Brethren,) the *Church* of *Chriſt* among us, which was once as

Seamelesse as his *Coate*, is now so rent by *Schismes*, so torne by *Separations*, that 'tis become like the *Coate* of *Joseph* which you reade of in the 37. Chapter of *Genesis*, at the 3. verse, scarce *one peice* is colourd like *another*; And I pray God it prove not like the *Coat* of *Ioseph* in one particular more; I pray God the *Weaker* be not sold by his *Brethren*, and his *Coate* be not once more dyed *red*, once more imbrued in *Bloud*. This, you will say, is very sad, and yet this is not all; That which extremely adds to the Misery of our *Rents*, and *Separations*, is, that the *wisest* cannot hope they will ere be *peeced*, or reconciled. For the *persons* who thus *Separate*, are so far from beleeving themselves to be in an *Errour*, that they strongly thinke all *Others* erre who *seperate* not too; They thinke *themselves* bound in *Conscience* to doe as they doe. Nay, zealous Arguments are urged, and Texts of *Scripture* quoted, to prove that 'tis a *damning sinne* not to goe on in *Separation*. The *Churches* where their *Neighbours* met are now contemned, and Scorned: Nay, I have with mine owne Ears heard a *Dining Room*, a *Chamber*, a *Meeting* under *Trees*; Nay, I have heard a *Hog-Stye*, a *Barne*, called places more sanctified then they. In a word, one *of* the great Reasons which they urge, why they thus forsake our *Churches*, and make divided *Congregations*, is, because (They say) the *people* which assemble there are so wicked, so prophane, that they turne *Gods House* of prayer into a *den of Theeves*. To keep this infection from spreading in my *Parish*, and to keepe this piece of *Leaven* from sowring the whole *Lumpe*; And withall to satisfie one, whom I looke upon as a *well-meaning*, though a *seduced*, and *erring person*, who hath ingaged her selfe by promise, that if I can take the *mist* from her *Eyes*, and cleerly let her see her *Errour*, she will returne back to the *Church*, from which she hath for some yeares gone astray; and being invited to doe this in a way of *Christian challenge*, which hath raised a great expectation in the *Country*, I have taken up the *Gauntlet*, and here present my selfe before you; and before I enter the *Lists*, to let you all see the Justice of the *Cause* which I here stand to *defend*, I have chosen this *Text* for my *Shield*; where *He*, who wrote this *Epistle* to the *Hebrews* sayes, *Let us consider one another to provoke one another to love and to Good Works, not forsaking the Assembling of our selves together, as the manner of some is.*

The

The Division.

IN which *words*, the only *point* which I shall insist upon, as the *fittest*, and most *seasonable* to be preacht to this *divided Congregation*, shall be the *point* of *Schisme*; or, in plaine English, *Separation*, as 'tis expreſt to us in theſe Words, *Let us not forsake the Assembling of our selves together, as the manner of some is.* In the purſuit and handling of which words, I will proceed by theſe two plaine and eaſie *Steps*. Fiſt, I will prove to you, by *Arguments*, which have a *sun-beame* for their *parent*, That the *Rent* or *Separation* which is now made in the *Church*, is a very *grievous sinne*: Indeed, a *sinne* ſo *grievous*, that I ſcarce know whether *Chriſtians* can be guilty of a *greater*. Next, I will *Examine* and anſwer their *Arguments*, and *Texts* of *Scripture*; who doe perſwade *themſelves* and *others* that their *ſeparation* is no *ſinne*; Nay, that would be a *grievous ſinne* not to *ſeparate* as they doe. In the meane time I beſeech you to lend me a *quiet* and *favourable* Attention, whileſt I begin with the *firſt* of theſe *parts*, and that ſhall be to prove to you, that the *ſeparations* of our *Times*, are *great* and *grievous ſinnes*.

Among the other *Characters* and *Deſcriptions* which have been made of us *Men*, we have been called, Ζῶον ἥμερον. That is, a *Creature* borne and made, and created for *Society*. Towards the preſervation and maintenance *whereof* God at the *Beginning*, ordered his *Creation* of us ſo, that whereas other *Creatures* take their *Originall* and *Birth* from a *Diverſitie* of *parents*, He made us *Men* to ſpring from one, undivided, ſingle *payre*. One *Adam*, and one *Eve* were the two *joyn'd parents* of *Mankinde*. And the Reaſon of this was, That there might not onely be among us one common *Kinred* and *Alliance*, but that we might hold a ſtrong, and conſtant *League* and *Friendſhip* with each other too. And hence 'tis we ſee, that without any other *Teacher* but their owne *Naturall Inſtinct*, Men in all Ages have avoided *ſeperation*, by gathering themſelves into formed Bodyes of *Citizens*, *Towns* and *Commonwealths*. Neighbourhood, Society, mutuall help, and Converſation, being one of the great *Ends* for which God made us *Men*. And upon this *Ground* it hath been diſputed,

whether

whether a *Hermit*, or *Monastic man*, breake not the *Law* of *Nature*, because he *separates* himselfe from the company of *Men*? And 'tis clearly stated by some great *Casuists*, That if he *seperate* from others for no End but *separation*, if he retire himselfe into a *Cave* or *Wilderneſſe*, or *Deſart*, (as some of the *Ancient Hermits* did) not for *Devotion*, but out of a hatred, or distaste of the rest of *Mankinde*; In that particular he cannot well be called a *Man*, but some *Wilder Creature*, made to dwell in *Caves*, *Deſarts*, *Forreſts*, *Dens*.

As then, the *Law* of *Nature* doth require us to preſerve *ſociety* and *Friendſhip*, ſo the *Law* of *Chriſt* hath tyed, and woven this *knot* much faſter. We are all of *Kinne* by *Nature*, but we are all *Brethren* as *Chriſtians*: Men allyed to one another by one *common Hope*, one *common Faith*, one *common Saviour*, one *common God*, and *Lord*, and *Father* of us *all*. And upon this *Ground*, when *one Chriſtian* ſhall divide or forſake the *ſociety* of *Another*, unleſſe it be upon a juſt *principle* of *Conſcience*, and to avoid a *ſinne*, the *Scripture* calls it not barely *Separation*, but *Separation* which is *Schiſme*. That is, ſuch a *Separation* as is a *Goſpel-ſinne too*.

Which, that you may the more clearly underſtand, give me leave to aske you in truth what is *Schiſme*? Why the beſt *Deſinition* of it that was ever yet given is this, That *Schiſme* is nothing elſe, but a *ſeparation* of *Chriſtians* from that part of the *Viſible Church*, of which they were once *Members*, upon meere *fancyed*, *ſlight*, *unneceſſary Grounds*. In which *Definition* of *Schiſme*, three things doe offer themſelves to your ſerious obſervation, to make it *formall Schiſme*, or a *ſigne* of *Separation*. Firſt it muſt be a *ſeparation* of *Chriſtians* from ſome part of the *Viſible Church*, of which they were once *Members*; That is, (according to the *Definition*, a *viſible Church* as it concerns this preſent purpoſe) it muſt be a Deniall of *Communion* with that *Congregation* of *Chriſtians*, with whom they were once *united* under a *rightly-conſtituted Paſtor*. Next, they who thus *ſeparate*, muſt betake themſelves to ſome other *Teacher*, whom, in oppoſition to the *former*, they chuſe to be their *Guide*, and ſo make themſelves his *Followers*.

Thirdly, they muſt erect a *New Aſſembly*, or place of *Congregation*, as a *New Church* diſtinct from that from which they doe *divide*.

Laſtly,

Lastly, This choyce of a *New Guide*, and *Separation* from the *Old*, this *Erection* of a *New Church*, and *Division* from the *former* must be upon slight unnecessary *Grounds*; For if the *Cause*, or *Ground* of their *Separation* be *needlesse*, *vaine*, *unnecessary*, if it spring more out of *Humour*, *Pride*, desire of *change*, or *Hatred* of their *Brethren*, then out of any *Christian love* to keepe themselves from *sinnes*; 'Tis in the *Scripture*-Language *Schisme*, That is, a *sinne* of *Separation*.

Or if you will heare me expresse my self in the language of a very *learned Man* (who hath contrived a *clue* to lead us through this *Labyrinth*) This breach of *Communion*, This *separation* from a Church *rightly constituted*; This choyce of a *New Guide*, *New Teacher*, *New Instructer*. Lastly, This setting up of a *New Congregation*, or place of *private Meetings*, is the same sinne in *Religion*, which *Sedition*, or *Rebellion* is in the *Commonwealth* or *State*. For upon a right examination of the matter 'twill be found, That *Schisme* is a *Religious*, or *Ecclesiasticall Sedition*, as *Sedition* in the *State* is a *civill*, *Lay schisme*.

Which two *sinnes*, though they appeare to the World in diverse *shapes*, the one with a *Sword*, the other with a *Bible* in his Hand; yet they both agree in this, that they both disturbe the *publick peace*. The one of the *State*, where men are tyed by *Laws* as *Men*; The other of the *Church*, where men should be tyed by *Love* as *Christians*.

To let you yet farther see, what a *grievous sinne* this sinne of *Schisme* or *Separation* is; If the time would give me leave, I might here rayse the *Schoolemen*, *Antient Fathers*, and *Generall Councells* from the dead, and make them preach to you from this *Pulpit* against the sinne of *Separation*. I might tell you, that in the purest Times of the *Church*, a *Schismatick*, and *Hersticke* were lookt upon as *Twinnes*; The one as an *Enemy* to the *Faith*, the other to *Communion*. But because in our *darke Times*, *learning* is so grown out of date, that to quote an *Ancient Father*, is thought a piece of *Superstition*; And to cite a *Generall Councell* is to speake words to our *New Gifted men* unknowne, I will say nothing of this sinne, but what the *Scripture* sayes before me.

First, then, I shall desire you to heare what S. *Paul* sayes in

this *case*, in the last Chapter of his *Epistle* to the *Romans* at the 17. verse. Turne to the place, and marke it well I beseech you. *Now I beseech you, brethren*, sayes he there, *Marke them which cause Divisions, and offences, contrary to the Doctrine which ye have learned, and avoid them*: That is, in other words, *Separate your selves from them*. And then he gives you a *Character*, and *Description* of those *Separaters* at the 18. verse of that Chapter; And sayes, *For they that are such, serve not our Lord Jesus Christ, but their owne Belly. And by good words and faire Speeches deceive the Hearts of the simple.*

In which words, *Foure things* are so exactly drawn to life, as makes them a perfect *Prophecye*, or rather *picture* of our *Times*. The first is, that there were some in S. *Pauls* dayes, who caused *Divisions* in the *Church*; *Men*, who in a way of *Schisme*, and *Separation*, made themselves the *Heads* and *Leaders* of *divided Congregations*.

Next, The *Ground* upon which they built their *Separation*; 'twas not upon any just, true, lawfull, Scripture-*Ground*. For the Text sayes, '*Twas contrary to the Doctrine which the Apostles taught, and preacht*. But the true *cause*, or *Ground*, why they thus caused *Separations*, was meerly *self-Interest*; And that they might *gaine* by their *Divisions*. Nay, 'twas such a poore, base, unworthy *self-Interest*, that 'tis there said, they did it in compliance to their *Belly*.

The third thing which will deserve your *observation*, is, the *cunning Art* they used to draw the *weake* to be their *Followers*. 'Tis there sayd, that by *good Words and faire Speeches*, *they deceived the Hearts of the simple*; especially the *simple* of the *weaker sex*. And who these were, S. *Paul*, in other words, but to the same purpose tells you, in the 3. *Chapter* of his second *Epistle* to *Timothy* at the 5, 6, 7. *verses* of that *Chapter*. Where speaking of such *Seducers*, he sayes, they had a *Forme of Godlinesse*, an outward seeming *Holynesse* to deceive and cosen by; And that under this *Forme of Godlinesse they crept into Houses*, and there *led Captive silly Women*, *laden with sinnes*, *and drawne away with divers Lusts*. *Women* unable to distinguish *Right* from *Wrong*, that they were *alwayes learning*, *and never able to come to the Knowledge of the Truth*.

And certainly, my Brethren, 'tis no new thing under the *Sunne*, to see the *weaker Sexe* misled by *holy Formes*, and *Shews*. 'Tis no new thing, I say, under the Sunne, for a man that makes *long prayers*, to eat up a *Widdows House*; Or for a *cunning Angler* to catch the *silver fort*, with a hooke *bayted* with *Religion*. 'Twas so in our *Saviours* time, and 'twas so in S. *Pauls*. And whether their demure lookes, their precise carriage, their long prayers, their good words and fayre speeches, be not the *Hooke*, and *Snare*, by which *weake people* are caught now; whether the feasting of their *Belyes*, or the making *Gayne* of *Godlinesse*; Or whether the *Itch* and *pride* of being the *Leaders* of a *Faction*; Or whether the vaine *Ambition* of being thought more *holy* or more *gifted* than the rest, be not the true end of those, who doe now cause *Separations*, I will not rashly censure, but I have some reason to suspect. But this is not all.

The fourth, and last thing, which most deserves your *observation*, is, that *Separation* in that place is such a *Scripture-sinne*, that S. *Paul* commands us to *separate* from those, who doe thus cause *Separations*. Heare the place, I pray, once more repeated to you, *I beseech you, Brethren*, sayes he, *Marke them who cause Divisions among you, and avoid them*. That is, as I said before, *Separate your selves from them*. If they, who upon no just *cause* doe *Separate*, must be *Separated* from, I hope you'l all confesse that *Separation* is a sinne.

And what *sinne* thinke you is this sinne of *Separation*? Why, I know some of you will thinke it strange if I should say, 'tis a *sinne* of the *Flesh*. And yet S. *Paul* sayes, that 'tis a *sinne* of the *Flesh*, in the 3. *Chapter* of his first *Epistle* to the *Corinthians*. Marke I beseech you what he sayes in that place. *Are ye not carnall?* sayes he there. For *whereas there are among you Envyings, and Strifes, and Divisions; Are ye not carnall, and walke as men?* Sayes He at the 3. verse. Againe, *when one saith, I am Paul; And when another saith, I am of Apollos; Are ye not carnall?* sayes he at the 4. of that *Chapter*. If to *divide* and *separate* from the *Followers* of S. *Paul*, and so make themselves the *Followers*, and *Disciples* of *Apollos*; or if by way of *Separation* to make themselves the marks of all *Cheverell* to which *Apostles* were the *Guides*, were a *sinne* of *Carnality*;

(as S. *Paul* sayes it was) what shall we say of some people of our *Times*? who instead of severall *Apostles* to divide themselves by, doe chuse to themselves *Guides* so *meane*, so *unlearned*, so liable to *Errour*, that they perfectly make between them the picture of *Mistakes*: The *Blinde leading the Blinde*, and both *fallen into a Ditch*? 'Tis not now, as 'twas then. When some said, *We are of Paul*, and when others said, *We are of Cephas*, and when others said, *we are of Apolles*; Others, *We are of Christ*. Though to make the Names of *Christ*, or *Paul*, or *Cephas*, names of Faction, was a sinne. But we are faln on *Times* so made of *Separation*, that people doe divide themselves by *Teachers*, whose second *Trade* is *Teaching*. *Teachers* so *obscure*, so bred to *manuall Occupations*; *Teachers* so sprung up from the *baseest* of the *people*. Lastly, *Teachers*, so accustomed to the *Trowell*, *Forge*, and *Anvill*, that I almost blush to name them in the *Pulpit*. 'Tis not now said, *We are of Paul*, And we are of *Apollos*; But we are of *Wat Tyler*; We are of *Jacke Cade*; We are of *Alexander* the *Coporsmith*; We are of *Tom* the *Mason*; and we are of *Dicke* the *Gelder*. And whether to *Divide* and *Separate* under such vulgar *Names* as *These*, be no a *sinne of the Flesh*, I leave to every one of you, who have read S. *Paul*, to judge.

And here, now, if *Time* were not a Winged Thing, or if it would but stay my leisure, I might lay before you many other places of the *Scripture*, which clearly doe *demonstrate* that *Separation* is a sinne. For though, like the *Ghost* of *Samuel*, which you read of in the *Scripture*, it usually appeare cloathed in the *Mantle* of a *Prophet*, though it were *Holinesse* in the *Tongue*, And *precisenesse* in the *Face*; yet to let you see what an *Apple* of *Sodome* it is; How it lookes with a *Virgin* cheek without, and is nought but *Rottennesse* within, I shall once more desire you to heare what S. *Paul* sayes of it, In the 5. Chapter of the *Galatians* at the 19. and 20. verses of that chapter, Where he once more reckons it among the *sinnes* of the *Flesh*. As for Example, The *Works of the Flesh are manifest*, sayes he, *which are these*. *Adulterie*, *Fornication*, *Uncleannesse*, *Lasciviousnesse*, *Idolatrie*, *Witchcraft*, *Hatred*, *Variance*, *Emulation*, *Wrath*, *Strife*, *Seditions*, *Heresies*, sayes our English Translation. But the words in the *Original Greek*, (which are the true *Word* of God) will beare it thus

thus. Διχοστασίαι, Αἱρέσεις, That is, *Divisions, Sects, Envyings, Murthers, Drunkennesse, Revellings, and such like. Of the which I tell you before*, sayes he, *As I have told you in Times past, That They which doe such Things shall not Inherit the Kingdome of God.* Where you see *Seditions, Sects*, and *Schismes*, as well as *Adulterie*, and *Murther*, are there listed by S. *Paul* among those *Works of the Flesh*, which doe shut men out of *Heaven*, and exclude them from *salvation*.

Many such like places of the *Scripture* I might lay before you. But I will content my selfe with one *Argument* more; which shall not onely prove to you, That *Separation* is a *sinne*; But one of the *Greatest sinnes*, of which *Christians* can be guilty.

To make this cleare to you, and beyond all *Dispute*, or *Question*. That which I will say to you (and mark it well) is this. 'Tis a Rule in *Divinity*, (and tis a *Rule infallible*) That those *sinnes* are the *Greatest*, which are most *contrary*, and doe most *oppose* the *greatest Christian vertues*. Now the Three Great Christian *vertues* which doe make and constitute a *Christian*, are set downe by S. *Paul*, in the 13. chapter of his first *Epistle* to the *Corinthians*, at the last verse, where he sayes, Now abideth *Faith*, *Hope*, and *Charity*; *But the Greatest of these is Charity*. Thus, then, stands the case. *Distrust in Gods promises*, or an *unbeliefe* in his *power*, is a very great sinne. For 'tis a sinne which doth *oppose* and quite cut off the wings of *Hope*. *Heresie*, or the strife, and obstinate *Defence*, and persisting in a *knowne Errour*, is a farre *greater sinne*. For 'tis a sinne against *Faith*, a sinne which strives to draw a Cloud about the Beames of *Truth*. But if it be true what S. *Paul* sayes, (as most certainly it is) If it be true that *Charity* is *greater* then either *Faith*, or *Hope*, Then 'twill follow by *Good Logick*, and all the *Consequence* of *Reason*; That that *sinne* which doth *untie*, and *break* the *Bond* of *peace*; That sinne which destroyes *Christian Friendship*, and *Communion*; Lastly, That sinne which rends, and teares the Cords of *Charity* asunder, is a farre *greater* sinne then *unbeliefe* or *Heresie*. And the sin which doth all this is the sin of *Separation*.

First 'tis a *greater* sinne in it *selfe*, and the very *formality* of the *sinne*. As being the *worst Extreme* to the best, and *greatest vertue*, Namely, The *vertue* of *Love*; By which *Christ* would have his

Followers distinguisht from the rest of *Mankinde*. For *by this shall all men know*, sayes he, *that you are my Disciples*, if yee *love one another*. As you may read in the 13. chapter of *John* at the 35. verse. And agreeable to this is that which is delivered here in this Text, where the *Author* of this *Epistle* to the *Hebrewes* sayes, *Let us consider one another to provoke one another to Love. And not forsake the Assembling of our selves together, as the manner of some is.*

And as *Schisme*, or *Separation* upon a *slight*, or *needlesse Ground* is in it *selfe* one of the *greatest* sinnes; So tis one of the *greatest* sinnes too, in its *dangerous Effects*. Besides the *Hatred*, *Envy*, *Strife*, which it begets among Men of divided *Interests*, and *Minds*, Tis many times the *Coale* which sets whole *States* and *Common-wealths* on fire. It pretends, indeed, very much to the *Spirit*, And at first cloaths it selfe in the *Dresse* of *Humility* and *Meeknesse*; But they who have written the *Chronicles* of the *Church* can tell you, That those *pretences* to the *Spirit* have no sooner gathered strength, but they have proceeded to *bloody Battells*, and *pitcht fields*. Where the *Meeke* persons have throwne aside their *Bibles*; and have changed the *Sword of the Spirit* into the *Sword of Warre*. The proceedings of the *Donatists* in *Affricke*, and of the *John-of-Leyden*-Men at *Munster* are two sad *Examples* of the truth of what I say.

The Grounds of Separation examined.

2. But here, perhaps, will some of you, who heare me this day, say, What's all this to us? In saying this which you have hitherto said, like those who wrote *Romantes*, you have but created an *Adversary* out of your own *fancy*, and then foyl'd him; or like the man in *Aristotle* who drove his *shaddow* before him, you first frame a man of *Ayre*, and then cry he flyes from you. But if this be to conquer, one of our *Gifted Men* who is at all no Scholler, can as well triumph over men of *Ayre*, and *shaddowes*, as *your selfe*. To let you see, therefore, that I am one of those, who desire not to fight *Duels* with *naked unarmed Men*, nor to meet any in the *Field*, before we have agreed upon the just

juſt length of our *Weapons*: If your *patience* will hold out ſo long, who come *diſ-intereſted* hither, This ſecond part of this *Sermon* ſhall be ſpent in the purſuit of that, which Maſter *Deane* of *Chriſt-church* juſt now very *ſeaſonably* noted as a *Defect* in our preſent way of *Arguing*, and *Diſpute*, which was, that the *Grounds* were not examined upon which the *preſent Separations* of theſe Times, do build themſelves. Theſe *Grounds*, therefore, I ſhall now in the next place call to ſome *reckoning* and *Account*. And in the doing of this, I will hang up a payre of *Scales* before you, you ſhall ſee their *Arguments* placed in *One Scale*, and my *Anſwers* in the *Other*: And becauſe no *Moderatour* ſits in the *Chayre* to judge (which was a thing foreſeen by *me*, but could not well be compaſt) I ſhall make *you* the *Judges* who heare me this day. And becauſe the *Rudeneſſe*, and *Ill-language* of thoſe who have diſturbed me in this *Pulpit*, hath made me ſtand before you here like a man arraigned for *Errour*, I will freely caſt my ſelfe upon *God*, and you the *Countrey*. Thus, then, I ſhall proceede.

Here (as I ſaid before) may ſome of the *Separating party*, ſay to me, How doth the former part of your *Sermon* concern us? We *ſeparate*, 'tis true, But not on thoſe *falſe Grounds* which you have all this while deſcribed. We grant, indeed, That if we broke *Communion* with you out of *Faction*, or *Selfe-Intereſt*, or *Pride*, or deſire of *Gaine*, or meere *Love* of *Separation*, you might well call us *Schiſmaticks*; and we ſhould well deſerve that *Name*. But the *Ground* on which we *ſeparate* from you, is, becauſe you are not fit to be *Aſſembled* with, you are *ſinners*; wicked, lewd, profane, notorious *ſinners*. The *places* where you meet breathe nothing but *Infection*. Your *Teachers* preach falſe *Doctrine*; and your people practiſe *Lyes*. In a word, we cannot with the ſafety of our Conſcience frequent your *Congregations*. Since to appeare there would be an enterprize as dangerous, as if we ſhould make Viſits to a *Peſt-houſe*, and there hope to ſcape the *Plague*.

This you will ſay (good people) is very hard language. And How, thinke you, do they prove it? why, as they thinke by two cleare places of the *Scripture*, which no man can *oppoſe*, and not make *Warre* with *Heaven*. Two places of *Scripture*, I ſay, have

been

beene produced, and quoted to me, like *Sampſon* and *Achilles*, with Invincible *Lances* in their Hands. Places which doe not onely *allow*, but *command* a *ſeparation*; Nay, they *command* it ſo fully, that if they ſhould not *ſeparate*, or forſake our *Congregations*, they ſay they ſhould ſinne greatly, and diſobey the *Scripture*. And what are theſe two *places*?

The *firſt* you ſhall finde ſet downe in the 5. laſt *verſes* of the 6. Chapter, of the ſecond Epiſtle of S. *Paul* to the *Corinthians*, where the words run thus. *Be ye not unequally yoke together with unbelievers. For what Fellowſhip hath Righteouſneſſe with unrighteouſneſſe? And what Communion hath Light with Darkneſſe?* And *what Concord hath Chriſt with Belial? Or what part hath he that believeth with an Infidell? And What agreement hath the Temple*
* Levit. 26.12. *of God with Idolls? For ye are the Temple of the living God;* * *As God hath ſaid, I will dwell in them, and walke in them; And I will be their God, and they ſhall be my people. Wherefore come out*
* Eſay 52.11. *from among them, and be ye ſeperate,* * *ſaith the Lord, and touch not the uncleane thing, and I will receive you.* This is their *firſt* great *place*, which they urge for *ſeparation*. Will you now heare their *ſecond*? That you ſhall finde ſet downe in the 4. firſt *verſes* of the 18. *Chapter* of the *Revelations*. Where the words run thus, *After theſe things*, ſayes S. *John* there, *I ſaw another Angel come downe from Heaven, having great power; and the Earth was lightned with his Glory. And he cryed mightily, with a ſtrong voice, ſaying, Babylon the Great is fallen, is fallen, and is become the Habitation of Divells, and the hold of every foule Spirit; And the Cage of every uncleane, and hatefull Bird. For all Nations have drunke of the wine of the wrath of her Fornications; And the Kings of the Earth have committed Fornication with her. And the Merchants of the Earth are waxed rich, through the Abundance of her Delicacyes. And I heard Another voyce from heaven, (ſayes he) ſaying; Come out of her my people, that yee be not partakers of her ſinnes, and that yee receive not of her plagues.*

Theſe *two places* of *Scripture* (if you will heare me expreſſe my ſelfe in the *thred-bare Language* of the *Times*) They ſay, doe *hold Forth* themſelves ſoe clearely, that I may ſooner quench the *ſunne* than finde an *Anſwer* to them. Nay, to deale freely with you, theſe *two places*, and *theſe* only are a piece of the *Challenge*

which

which hath occasioned this *Dispute*. For I am promised by *Her*, whom I here come to *undeceive*, that if I can answer these *two places*, she wil be my *Convert*; And will *separate* from these who doe now make *separations*.

I take *her* at her word, and doe thus contrive, and shape my *Answers*; Marke them I beseech you. As for the first place in the 6. *Chapter* of the second *Epistle* to the *Corinthians*; you are to understand, that when S. *Paul* wrote that *Epistle*, The City of *Corinth* was not wholly converted to the *Faith*, but was divided in *Religions*, some were yet *Heathens*, and sacrificed to *Idols*: Others did imbrace the *Gospell*, and gave up their Names to *Christ*.

Nevertheless, they were not so divided in *Religions*, but that dwelling together in the same *City*, certaine Neighbourly *Civillities*, and Acts of *kindnesse* past between them. As for Example, when a *Heathen* or *Unbeleever* offerd a *sacrifice* to his *Idol*, 'twas usuall, for old Acquaintance sake, to invite his *Christian Friends* to be *Guests* to his *sacrifice*; And to eate of his *meate* which was *offered* to his *Idol*, As you may read, 1 *Cor*. 10. 27, 28. And the *place* where the *sacrifice* was eaten, and where the *Feast* was made, was, for the most part in the *Temple* of the *Idol*, As you may read, 1 *Cor*. 8. 10. Now, this mingling of *Religions*; This meeting of *Christians* with *Heathens*, at a *Heathen Feast*; Nay, at a *Feast* where the *Meat* was first *offerd* to an *Idol*, Nay in that *Idol* was offered to the *Devils*, as you may reade, 1 *Cor*. 10. 20. Nay, this meeting of *Christians* with *Heathens* at an *Idol sacrifice*, and their eating with them of that *sacrifice* in the very *Temple* of the *Idol*, was a thing so *dangerous*, so apt to call *weake Christians* back againe to their former *Idolatry*, That Saint *Paul* thought it high time to say, *Be not* thus *unequally yoke with unbeleevers*. In which expression he doth cast an eye upon that *Law* of *God*, which you may read set downe in the 22. *Chapter* of *Deuteronomye*, at the 9, 10, 11. *verses* of that *Chapter*. Where *God* sayes, *Thou shalt not sow thy Vineyard with diverse seeds*; *Nor shalt thou plough thy field with an Oxe, and an Asse yoke together*; *Nor shalt thou weare a Garment of divers sorts, Namely, of Linnen, and Woollen woven together in one piece*. To the *Mysticall* meaning of which *Law*, S. *Paul* here alludes, when he sayes, *Be not unequally yoke with Unbeleevers*. For a *Christian*

 mingling

mingling with a *Heathen*, in a *Heathen Congregation*? Nay, a *Christian* mingling with a *Heathen* in the *Temple* of an *Idol*, was a more *disproportion'd* sight, then to see an *Oxe yoke with an Asse* in the same *Plough*; Or then to see *Corn* sown with *Grapes* in the same *Field*; Or then to see *Wool* mixt with *Linnen* in the same *Garment*. In a Word, the *Idolatry* of the *Heathens* was so inconsistent with the *Religion* of the *Christians*, that S. *Paul* proceeds, and sayes, that they might as well reconcile *Light* to *Darknesse*, or contrive a League betweene *Christ* and *Belial*; Or tye a Marriage knot between *Righteousnesse* and *sinne*, as make it hold in fitnesse; That *Christians* who are the *Temples* of *God*, and of his holy *Spirit*, should meet, and eate, and beare a part in the *Idol Temples* of the *Heathens*. And these *Infidels*, these *Heathens*, who did not believe in *Christ*; These *Corinthians unconverted*, These *Worshippers* of *Idols*, who strived to draw the *Christians* back to their former *Superstitions*, were they from whom S. *Paul* bids his *New Converts* separate themselves. *Come out from among them, and be ye separate*, sayes he, at the 17. *verse* of that *Chapter*. Or, (in the Language of the place) *Come out from among them, and be ye separate, saith the Lord, and touch not the uncleane thing, and I will receive you.* Which *Words* are but a *string* struck by the
* Esay 52. 11. Prophet * *Esay* first, and spoken by him, of the *Separation* of the *Jewes*, from the then *Idolatryes* of the *Heathens*. And that this is the true Interpretation of *this place*, will appeare to any who shall compare, what S. *Paul* here sayes, with that which he sayes, in the 10. *Chapter* of his first *Epistle* to the *Corinthians*, from the 19. to the 30. *verse* of that *Chapter*.

This then, being so, Let me aske the *zealous persons*, who thus delight in *Separation*, are *They* from whom they *separate* such *Infidells*, such *Heathens*, such *Worshippers* of *Idols*, as S. *Paul* doth here describe? Doe they see any *Gods* of *Gold*, erected in our *Temples*? Or doe they see any *Images* of *Silver* adored, and sacrificed to by our *Congregations*? Doe any of us make *prayers* to a *Stocke*? Or doe any of us burne *Incense* to a *Stone*? Nay, let them (if they please) examine us by their *private-meeting-Catechisme*. Doe we not confesse *the same God* that they doe? Doe we not beleeve in *the same Jesus Christ*? Do we preach another *Gospel*? Or hope to be *saved* by any other *Name* but His? Are not our *Congregations* built on the *Scripture-Rock*? Is not *Christ* our

our *Corner Stone*, and his *Apoſtles* our *Foundation*? Doe we not *agree* with them in *all* things, but where they *differ* from the *Scripture*? As for Example, we doe maintaine, and ſay, that *ſeparation* is a *ſinne*. They doe maintaine and ſay, That 'tis a *Chriſtian Duty*; We urge that Text which ſayes, *One Lord, One Faith, One Baptiſme*; They urge no Text, which ſayes, Men muſt be twice Baptiſed. We ſay, that if a *Child* of *God* doe breake Gods *Laws*, a *Child* of *God* *ſinnes*. Some of them ſay that *God* beholds no ſinne in his *Children*. Laſtly, we ſay of the *Scripture*, as † S. *Peter* ſaid of S. *Pauls Epiſtles*; *That there be ſome things in them, very hard to be underſtood, which they who are unlearned wreſt to their owne Deſtruction.* They ſay *unlearned Gifted* Men are the beſt *Expounders* of the *Scripture*; What they meane by *Gifted Men* I will not here examine. But that which I will ſay is this, becauſe We differ in *Opinions* to *divide* themſelves from us; Nay to apply ſuch a *reproachfull* place of *Scripture* to us, as makes us no better then *Infidels*, and *Heathens*, and *Worſhippers* of *Idols*, is to *revile* us with the *Word* of *God*, and to *Libell* us with *Scripture*.

† 2 Pet. 3. 16.

Would *They* take it well, if we ſhould apply to *Them* that place which ſayes; *Woe to you, yee Hypocrites, yee Blind Leaders of the Blind*; you who *ſtrayne at Gnats*, and yet ſecurely *ſwallow Camels*? Would *They* take it well, if we ſhould quote a place of *Scripture*, and make it call *Them* *whited Sepulchers*; which ſhowe *fayre* and *beautifull without*, and *hold nought* but *ſtinke*, and *Rottenneſſe* within? Againe, would *They* take it well if we ſhould apply to *them*, that place which ſpeakes of Men, who have a *Forme* of *Godlineſſe*, but *deny the power thereof*? Men, who like the old *Phariſees*, with a *long prayer* in their Mouth, *creep into Houſes, and there leade Captive ſilly Women*? Laſtly, would *They* take it well if we ſhould apply that place to *Them*, which ſayes; *That as Jannes, and Jambres withſtood Moſes, ſo doe theſe men reſiſt the Truth? Men of corrupt Mindes; Reprobate concerning the Faith?* (as 'tis in the *Greek*, and the *Margin* of your *Bibles*) Ἀδόκιμοι περὶ τὴν πίστιν, Men *purblinde, voide* of *Judgement* concerning the *true* knowledge of the *Faith*? If they would not take it well, why doe they not obſerve the *Rule* of *Equity*, and *Juſtice*, which is, *To doe to us*, but as They *would have us doe to them*?

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But here perhaps, will ſome of you who heare me this day, ſay; We doe not *ſeparate* from you, becauſe you are out-right *unbeleevers*, *Pagans*, *Infidels*, or *Heathens*; But becauſe you weare the Names of *Chriſtians*, and yet live the Lives of *Heathens*. Though you doe not worſhip *Idols*, yet there is *Covetouſneſſe* among you, which S. *Paul* calls † *Idolatry*. And though you doe profeſſe *Chriſt*, yet you walke *diſorderly*; And doe commit thoſe *ſinnes* which they who *denyed Chriſt* did. Though we ſee no *Gods* of *Gold* nor *Silver* in your *Temples*, yet if we came there, we might ſee a *Congregation* of ſuch people as S. *Paul* in other places bids us *Separate* from. As for *Example*, turne to the 3. *Chapter* of his ſecond *Epiſtle* to the *Theſſalonians*, and the 6. verſe. Doth he not there command us *In the name of the Lord Jeſus to withdraw our ſelves from every Brother, who walkes diſorderly, and not according to the Traditions which he taught?* Or if this place be not cleare enough, turne to the 5. *Chapter* of the firſt *Epiſtle* of S. *Paul* to the *Corinthians*, and to the 11. verſe, Doth he not there ſay, that if *Any man that is called a Brother, be a Fornicatour, or Covetous, or an Idolater, or a Rayler, or a Drunkard, or an Extortioner*, with ſuch a one we are not to keep Company, *No, not to eat?*

† Col. 3. 5.

I grant, indeed, S. *Paul* ſayes ſo, and doe think it very fit that S. *Paul* ſhould be obeyed. But how doth this prove that they are to *forſake* our *Congregations*? That there are *ſuch men* among us, as S. *Paul* doth there deſcribe, is a *Truth* too cleare to be denyed. But are our *whole Congregations* compoſed of ſuch men? Are *all Drunkards*? Are *all Fornicatours*? Are *all Raylers*? Are *all Extortioners*? Are *all*, both *Prieſts* and *People* ſo like one another, that when they meete they make not a Church-*Aſſembly*, but a *Congregation* of ſuch *ſinners*? Or are they onely *ſome*? And they, perhaps, the *leſſer part* who are guilty of thoſe *ſinnes*? Nay ſuppoſe they ſhould be farre the *greater part*, who are guilty of theſe *ſinnes*; yet you know our * *Saviour Chriſt* compares the *Church* to a *Field ſowne with good ſeed*; But then he tells us too, That to the Worlds end, among the *good ſeed* there ſhall ſtill grow *Weeds*, and *Tares*. Againe, in the 13. *chapter* of S. *Matthew* at the 47. and 48. *verſes* of that *Chapter*, he compares the *Kingdome of God* here in this World, to a *Net caſt into the Sea*, which incloſed *Fiſhes* of all

* Matt. 13.

ſorts

ſorts, Bad as well as *Good*. And what the meaning of this draught of *mingled Fiſhes* is, I ſhall deſire you to read at the 49. and 50. *verſes* of that chapter, where he ſayes; That at the *End of the World*, and not till then, the *Angels ſhall go forth*, and ſhall *ſeparate the Wicked from among the Juſt*: ἐκ μέσου τῶν δικαίων, ſayes the Originall *Greek*, They ſhall *ſeparate* the *wicked* from the *midſt* of the *Juſt*, which clearely doth prove to us, That till this finall *Separation*, in the *Church* of *God* here on earth, there will alwayes be a *mixture*: To *divide* or *ſeparate*, therefore, from the *Whole Congregation*, becauſe ſome *Wicked men* are in it, is a courſe ſo *unreaſonable*, as if they ſhould refuſe a *Field* of *Corne* becauſe there grew ſome *Weeds*, or ſhould renounce a *Field* of *Wheat* becauſe it beares ſome *Tares*.

Beſides, I would faine know, how farre they will extend the meaning of that *Text*, where S. *Paul* ſayes, That they are *not to eat with a Brother*, who is a *Drunkard*, or *Adulterer*, or *Rayler*, or *Extortioner*. Will they extend it to *all ſorts* of perſons who are ſuch? If they will, Then if a *Woman* have a *Drunkard* to her *Husband*, ſhe muſt *ſeparate* from him becauſe he is a Drunkard, if ſhe doe not, every time ſhe eats with him, ſhe diſobeyes S. *Paul*; and in every *meale* ſhe makes with him ſhe commits a *Scripture ſinne*. By the ſame reaſon alſo, If the *Sonne* have a *Drunkard* to his *Father*, he muſt remove *Tables*, and not dyet with his *Father*. And ſo there will be one *Diviſion* more then thoſe the *Scripture* ſpeakes of: For that onely tells us that the time ſhall come when the *Sonne* ſhall be divided from the *Father*, and the *Mother* from the *Daughter*. But if this *Interpretation* be true, the *Wife* muſt *divide* and *break* her ſelfe from her *diſtemper'd Husband* too.

Nay give me leave to goe one ſtep farther yet. If the ſinnes of a *part* be a juſt ſufficient Ground to *ſeparate* from the *Whole*, Why doe not *they* who *ſeparate*, *divide* and fall *aſſunder*? For here let me ask them, and let me ask without offence; Are they *all* ſo *Innocent*, ſo *pure*, ſo *free*, ſo voyd of *ſinne*, that there is not one *diſorderly Brother* among them? Is their place of *private Meetings* ſo much the *New Jeruſalem*, That no *Drunkard*, no *Adulterer*, nor *Rayler* enters there? I wiſh there did not, my Brethren. We *Miniſters* ſhould not then ſo oft be called *Dumb Doggs*, *Idol ſhepheards*, *Limbs of Antichriſt*, *Baals Prieſts*, by

Tongues, wich if S. *James* say true, *are set on fire of Hell.*
am. 3.6.

If then, it be not the meaning of S. *Paul* in that place, that we should *separate* from *all* because *some* of those *All* are *wicked*, upon what other *just Ground* doe they break *Communion* with us? Is it because we preach in *Churches*? They are Gods House of *prayer*. Made his by the *Piety*, and *Devotion* of our *Fathers*, who if they lived now would hardly call them *Saints*, who preferre a *Barne*, nay a *Hog-stye* before a *consecrated Temple*. Or is it because there is *Heresie* or *Superstition* mixt with our once *Common Forme of prayer*? If there had been, you see that *scandall* is removed. Or doe we persecute, or force, or drive them from our *Congregations*? We are so farre from that, that you see, they are ready to require that our *publick Congregations*, should *stoope*, and *bow the Knee* to their *private Meetings*. What other *secret* reason tis which thus *divides* them from us, I can by no meanes think, unlesse it be wrapt up in the *Mystery* and *cloud* of the 18. chap. of the *Revelations*, which is their other strong *Herculean* place of *Scripture*, which hath been urged to me to make good their *Separation*. From which dark place of *Scripture* when I have removed the *veyle* and *Curtaine*, I will put a period, and conclusion to this Sermon.

Tis there said, that S. *John* heard an *Angel* proclaime aloud, and say, *Babylon the Great is fallen, is fallen; and is become the Habitation of Divels, the Hold of every uncleane Spirit, and a Cage of every uncleane, and hatefull Bird*; As you may read at the 2. *verse* of that *chapter*. Tis farther said, That he heard another voice from heaven, saying, *Come out of her my people, that yee be not partakers of her sinnes, and that ye receive not of her plagues.* As you may read at the 4. *verse* of that *chapter*, where by *Babylon fallen*, they understand the *Church of England falne*, By the *Habitation of Divels*, the *Hold of foule Spirits*, and *Cage of uncleane Birds*. They understand our *Parish Churches*, and *Congregations* which meet there; which, they say, are so much a *Cage of uncleane Birds*, places so *corrupt*, so full of *wickednesse*, and *sinne*, that *God*, by his *Spirit*, as it were, by a *voice* from the *Clouds*, hath said unto them, *Come out of* them, *my people*, divide your selves from them, *lest ye be partakers of their sinnes*, and go sharers in their *plagues*. This is, or must be their *Interpretation* of that *place*; or else 'twill no way serve to uphold their

their *Separation*. If, I ſay, by the *Habitation of Divells*, and *Cage of uncleane Birds* be not meant our Church *Aſſemblyes*, from which they doe *divide*, they doe but build a *Houſe of ſtraw*, and chooſe the *ſand* for a *Foundation*. I am ſure I have been told that this was the very *Interpretation* which the *Gentleman* gave of *this place*, who juſt now *diſputed* with me, at a *diſpute* which not long ſince he had with Mr. *Gibſon* of *Chinner*.

But now will you heare my *cenſure* of this wilde *Interpretation*? Take it then, thus. Among the ſeverall *Expounders* of the *Revelation*, I once met with *one*, who when he came to interpret the *Seven Angels*, which blew the *Seven Trumpets*, He ſaid that by one of thoſe *Angels* was meant *Luther*, by another *Queen Elizabeth*. And when he came to give the meaning of the *Locuſts* which aſcended from the *Bottomeleſſe pit*, with *Crowns* on their *Heads*, by the *Locuſts*, He underſtood *Schollers* of the *Univerſities*; And by the *Crownes* on their *Heads*, He underſtood *Square Caps*. Methinkes, theſe *kinde* of *people* deale juſt ſo with this place of the *Revelation*. They ſee *ſtrange viſions* in it which S. *John* never ſaw; Namely, they ſee *Babylon* in our *Churches*, and *uncleane Birds* in our *Aſſemblyes*. Nay, though the *Divels* being *Spirits* are too *inviſible* to be ſeen, yet, by the benefit of a *New-light*, they can ſee *ſights* which no other *Eyes* can ſee without being preſent in the place to which *foul Spirits* do reſort, (as if they had borrowed one of *Galileo*'s Glaſſes) they can ſee *Divels* take *Notes* at our *Sermons*. But whether in *ſhort-Hand*, or at *length*, S. *John* hath not revealed.

Pardon me, I beſeech *you*, *you* who are of the more *grave* and *nobler* ſort, that I am thus *pleaſant* in the pulpit; I am compelled to be ſo when I meet with *people* who deale with the *Scripture*, as men of *melancholly Fancyes* uſe to deale with the *Clouds*. For as I have knowne ſome *Hypocondriack* men, who have faigned to themſelves *flying Horſes*, *Winged Troops*, and *Ships ſayling* in the *Aire*; Nay, as I have knowne ſome, who, like the *Melancholly man*, who thought himſelfe a *urinall*, have thought they have ſeene two *Armyes* in the *Skie*; and have miſtaken *Clouds*, and *Meteors* for *Soldiers*, *Trumpets*, *Drums*, and *Cannons*; So I do not wonder that our *Gifted*, *thinking people* ſhould ſo miſtake the *Revelation* as they doe; or that they ſhould ſee *Monſters* in the Scripture *Clouds*. Where the *Scripture* is moſt *cleare*, they hardly

un-

understand it; How then, should they finde out the *Key* to such *darke prophecies* as *this*?

But here may some man say to me, if they *mistake* this place, whats your *Interpretation of it*? Why, my *Interpretation* is the very same which S. *John* Himselfe delivers, *Rev.* 14. 8. Where the *Angel* expresseth himself in the very same words, And sayes, *Babylon is fallen, is fallen; That great City which made all Nations drinke of the Wine of the Wrath of her Abominations.* And what was that *Great City*? Why the *City* built on *seven Hills*; As 'tis described in *another* place of the *Revelation*. That *Great City* which was the *Queen* of *Nations*; Namely, the *City* of *Rome*, when 'twas the *seat* of *Heathen Emperours*. Lastly, that *Great City*, which gave Laws to all the *World*, to *worship* her *False Gods*, and to partake of her *Idolatryes*. And this was that *Great City*, which S. *John* calls *Babylon*; either, because speaking of the *Fall* and *Ruine* of it, He thought it not safe to call it *Rome*, or by its right and proper *Name*; Lest, if he had done so, he might draw *persecution* on the *Christians*. Or els, Because as *Babylon* was the *Head City* of the *Persian Monarchy*, so *Rome* was then the *Head City* of the *Roman*. In a word, this is that *Great City*, which was then the great *Court* of *Idolatry*, the *Queen* of *Superstitions*; And therefore, justly called by the *Angel* which spoke to S. *John*, The *Habitation of Divels*, and *Cage* of *uncleane Birds*. And from this *Babylon*, this *Rome*, the then *City* of *confusion*, the *Angel* of *God* bid the *Christians* of *those Times* to *come forth*, and *separate themselves*; lest they should be *partakers* of her *sins*, and go sharers in her *plagues*. But to say as they do, that the *Church* of *England* is that *Babylon the great*; or that our *Parish Congregations*, from which they do divide themselves, are the *Habitation* of *Divels*, the *Hold* of *foule spirits*, and *Cage* of *unclean Birds* here mentioned in this *chap.* is such a piece of *Ignorance*, as well as *zealous slander*, that they will never be able to prove it, till they can make the *Capitol* of *Rome* stand in our *London streets*, or till they can make the *River Tiber* run, where now our *Thames* doth; or till they can change the *Countries* in our *Mapps*, and make the *Mid-land Sea* flow on our *English shore*. And farther then this I will not trespasse on your *patience*; or inlarge my selfe to prove to you that *Separation* is a *Sin*.

THE END.

SERMON

CONCERNING

Unity & Agreement.

PREACHED

AT *CARFAX* CHURCH

in OXFORD, *August* 9. 1646.

By IASPER MAINE, *D.D.* and one of the Students of Christ-Church, OXON.

ROM. 12. 18.

If it be possible, as much as lieth in you, live peaceably with all men.

Printed in the Yeere,

clɔ Iɔc XLVII.

SERMON

A SERMON CONCERNING Unity and Agreement.

1 Cor. 1. 10.

Now I beseech you Brethren, by the Name of our Lord Jesus Christ, that yee all speake the same thing, and that there be no Divisions among you: but that ye be perfectly joyned together in the same mind, and in the same judgement.

THough Truth, from what mouth soever it bee spoken, or in what shape or dresse soever it appeare, be but one and the same; and where it is rightly understood, carries this uniting, peacefull quality with it, that it makes all its followers of one consent, and mind too; yet I know not from what mist, or impotence, lodged in our nature, with whom errors and mistakes do for the most part prevaile more then Arguments or Demonstrations; and with whom our owne mis-conceipts (conveyed into us from such whom we think too holy to deceive us, or too learned to deceive themselves) do for the most part sticke so deeply, and take such root and impression in us, that it is not in the power of truth it selfe to remove them: This one, uniting, peacefull Bond of minds, this Ray of our Soules, according to the severall Teachers of it, and according to the severall formes and shapes, into which they have cast it, hath alwaies been looked on as so many severall Truths; And to the discredit, and disadvantage of it, hath in all Ages been as severally entertained and followed. Thus among the Heathen Philosophers, we finde the number of Sects, to be much greater then the number of Sciences. Every new famous Teacher, who professed severity in his looks, and austerity in his manners, had the power to draw a cloud of Disciples after him, and to erect

rect a new Truth with a new School. And thus in the very Church of God it ſelfe, the Goſpell no ſooner began to be preached to the world, but it began to have its Sects and Schiſmes, and ſidings too. The Apoſtles taught but one Faith, one Baptiſme, one Chriſt, one plaine, open way of ſalvation to men; yet they were miſ-underſtood by ſome, as if they had preached many: Or as if the numbers of their ſeverall Doctrines, had equalled the number of their ſeverall perſons, and they had (every one where he went) ſcattered a ſeverall Goſpell.

To ſpeake yet more plainely to you, and neerer home to the Hiſtory of this Text; The *Corinthians* (to whom this Epiſtle was written) as if from every new Teacher that came thither, they had learned a new Religion, began at length to have as many Religions among them as they had heard Teachers. You might have diſtinguiſhed divers Churches in the ſame City, and have divided their Beleefs and Creeds by their Families and ſtreets. Where, by a fallacy and deceit of the eare, judging of the things taught, by their affection to the Teacher, and not judging of the Teacher by the things which he taught, every one choſe to himſelfe the name of his Miniſter to make a Side and faction by. One (as you read at the 12. Verſe, of this Chapter) ſaid, *I am of Paul*, another, *I am of Apollos*, a third, *I am of Cephas*, a fourth, *I am of Chriſt*: As if Chriſt had either been divided, or elſe were to ſtand with the reſt as the name of a diſtinct Religion; Or at leaſt, as if the Goſpell (which at firſt ſprung from him) like ſtreams broken off from their ſpring-head, were no longer to retaine the name of the Fountain from whence it roſe, but were to weare the ſtile of the ſeverall pipes and channells, by which it was conveyed abroad into the world.

This diverſity of names, and ſides, grew at firſt from their diverſity of opinions, and minds. When the unlearned wreſting the Scripture which they had heard preached to an Apoſtles ſenſe, would preſume to impoſe that ſenſe, which was indeed, not an Apoſtles, on others. And thoſe others, equally as unlearned, thought it as reaſonable, ſo they could entitle it to another Apoſtle, to impoſe their interpretation of Scripture on the firſt.

This diverſity of minds, proceeded at length to diverſity of language and ſpeech. Congregation ſpoke cenſoriouſly of Congregation,

tion, as if none had been in the right, but they onely who moſt vehemently could charge others with being in the wrong. Saint *Paul* was urged, and quoted againſt Saint *Peter*, and *Apollos* againſt both, and *Chriſt* againſt all three. Whoſe Sermons, like thoſe changeable figures which melancholly men frame to themſelves in the clouds, were made to weare the ſhape and form, which every mans zeale and fancy ſuggeſted to him.

Hence, in time, from difference and diſagreement in mindes and ſpeech, they grew to difference and diſagreement in ſociety and converſation too. Difference of opinion bred ſeparation of companies; and that which was at firſt but a neighbourly diſpute, by degrees tooke flame, and grew to be mortall hatred, diviſion and ſchiſme. Men of the next doore were no longer neighbours to one another. All the bonds of Charity became utterly broken. All Chriſtian entercourſe, and familiarity and commerce ceaſt between them. He was thought to be falſe, and to betray his ſide, who offered to ſhew himſelfe affable or civill to one of another party.

In ſhort, the breach became ſo wide, that he was thought to be the onely religious man who could moſt enlarge the rent, and could bring moſt fuell to the preſent combuſtion which was thus unhappily kindled among them. To compoſe theſe differences therefore, (differences not unlike thoſe of our miſerable, diſtracted times) and to make the Knot and Reconciliation as faſt and ſtrong, as the diſagreement and rent was large and wide, S. *Paul* here in this Text, preſcribes a ſeverall Cure, for every particular and ſeverall breach. Firſt, to remove the diſcord which roſe among them, by calling themſelves by ſeverall names, and to baniſh the ill conſequences of all ſuch factious compellations, which for the moſt part are bitter Invectives, and ſharp arrowes of detraction hurld at one another, he perſwades them to unity of language and ſpeech, and exhorts them to call themſelves all by the ſame name, in theſe words, *Now I beſeech you Brethren, that ye al ſpeak the ſame thing.* Next, to remove their want of meetings, and Communion together in the ſame place of Gods Worſhip, he perſwades them to unity of Aſſemblies, and Congregation, in theſe words, *Now I beſeech you, Brethren, that there be no diviſions*, That is, (as I ſhall in the progreſs of this Sermon, make it clear to you from the Original) that there be no ſeparations, that is, (as our Engliſh word doth wel expreſs it) that there be no

 private

private ſequeſtred meetings, no ſuch things as Conventicles among you. Thirdly, to remove the root, and ſpring of all theſe uncharitable ſtrifes, and diviſions, and ſeparations, he perſwades them to unity of opinions and minds, in theſe words, *Now I beſeech you, Brethren, that you be perfectly joyned together in the ſame mind, and in the ſame judgement.* Laſtly, that he might with the greater ſucceſſe do this, and (like a skilfull reconciler) might win upon all ſides, he for a while layes aſide the Authority of his Apoſtleſhip; and mingling Requeſt and Conjuration, with Exhortation and Advice, he acts the part of an Apoſtle, in the forme of a Petitioner, in theſe words, *Now I beſeech you Brethren, by the Name of our Lord Jeſus Chriſt, &c.* Upon theſe parts, the Apoſtles mild inſinuation, and addreſſe of himſelfe, and the ſeverall Degrees of unity and concord, in ſpeech, in Aſſemblies, and in Opinions, to which he here exhorts the Corinthians, I will build my future diſcourſe. In the ordering of which, I will begin with the Apoſtles ſubmiſſive inſinuation, or addreſſe of himſelfe, in theſe words, *Now I beſeech you, Brethren, by the Name of our Lord Jeſus Chriſt.*

For the clearer and more uſefull handling of this part of the
qualifi- Text, Firſt, it will be neceſſary that I ſpeake ſomthing to you of Saint *Pauls* perſon, the Preacher here in the Text, and of his calling to the Miniſtery; which well conſidered, will conduce very much to the removall of a certaine dangerous error received of late into the minds of too many unlearned, vulgar men among us: Which is, That Univerſities, and Bookes, and Studies, and Learning are ſo farre from being neceſſary preparations to make a Preacher of the Goſpell, that any Lay-man, though perhaps brought up to a manuall Trade, or a vocation of Husbandry, or attendance upon Cattel, if he finde by himſelfe that he is called by the Spirit of God, may put himſelfe into Orders, and take the Miniſtery upon him. And thus enabled from above, without the forme of Ordination, or thoſe other ſlow, tedious, lazy helps, of ſitting twenty years in a Colledge to underſtand the Bible, may in the few minutes of a powerfull Inſpiration ſpring up an Apoſtle, and go forth a Preacher of the Word of God.

To this perſwaſion they have been invited by two ſorts of Examples in the Scripture; one in the Old Teſtament, the other in the New. In the Old Teſtament, Doe you not read, ſay they, that God

God, called *Eliſha* from the Plough to be a Prophet? And doth not *Amos* tell you in the 7. Chapter of his Propheſie, at the 14. Verſe, that he was a Herdman, and a gatherer of Sycamore fruit? Then for examples in the New Teſtament, pray what were the Apoſtles? were they great Schollars? or did Chriſt ſend to *Athens* for them? were they not Fiſhermen, men altogether unletter'd, men called from mending nets to preach the Goſpell? If this were ſo, That God according to his good pleaſure, without any conſideration of ſtudy, or height of parts, choſe ſimple, unlearned, unſtudied men, to be Prophets and Apoſtles, and Teachers, then why ſhould any thinke he hath ſo confined, or entailed his free Spirit, or vocation of men, upon great parts, and ſtudies, that he may not, if he pleaſe call the like unſtudied, ſimple men from the Plough or Fiſher-boat, or Stall, or Shop-board, to be Miniſters of his Goſpel, and Teachers of his people now?

My Brethren, you ſee I have not prevaricated, or diminiſhed ought of the ſtrength of the Argument which is urged in favour of Lay-mens preaching. In anſwer to which, laying aſide all partiality to my ſelfe, and prejudice againſt them, I ſhall with the ſame ſpirit of meekneſs and Candour, with which Saint *Paul* here in this Text beſpoke his Corinthians, beſeech you, who heare me this day, to obſerve, and weigh, and conſider well this which I ſhall ſay for a Reply?

Firſt, Far, far be it from me ſo to flatter the place of my Education, or ſo to biaſs my beleef, by any falſe ovevarluing of humane Induſtry, or great parts that I ſhould pinion, as it were, or put limits to the power of the Almighty; Or ſhould be ſo irreligiouſly bold, as to gain-ſay that piece of his Goſpell which compares his holy Spirit to the *Wind*, which *bloweth where it liſteth*. If they who thus pretend to a private Inſpiration doe meane, that whatever God did in the times heretofore, he is able to doe now, I ſhall eaſily grant it; And here in the preſence of you all, confeſſe my ſelfe to be of their opinion. Nor ſhall I make any doubt or ſcruple at all, to ſay, that, if we looke upon what God is able to doe, by the ſame power by which he was able to raiſe up Children to *Abraham* out of ſtones, or (to ſpeake yet more neerly to the Argument in hand) by the ſame power that hee was able to make a Herd-man a Prophet, or a Fiſher-man an Apoſtle, he is able, in our times alſo,

if

if he pleaſe, to make the meaneſt Tradeſman one of the greateſt Luminaries of his Church. Since to an Omnipotent Agent, whoſe gifts are meerly Arbitrary, and depend wholly upon the pleaſure of his owne will, the greateſt endowments of men, and the leaſt, are alike eaſie. But though he be able to doe this, and in the ancient times of the Scripture have imparted his Gifts without reſpect of Perſons, yet whether he now will, or whether in our times hee doth ſtill thus extraordinarily raiſe up Teachers to himſelfe, is extreamly to be doubted. For here with all the Chriſtian gentleneſs and reaſon, which may poſſibly conduce to the clearing of this doubt, were I to argue this Controverſie with one of thoſe men who invade our function, and from gathering of Sycamore fruit ſtep up into the Pulpit, I would onely aske him this queſtion, What Commiſſion he hath thus to uſurp upon our Office; Or who ſigned him his patent; Since the Apoſtle tells us in the fifth Chapter of the Epiſtle to the Hebrewes, at the fourth Verſe, (A place well worth your marking, my Brethren) That *no man taketh this honour of a Prieſt to himſelfe, But he who is called of God, as was Aaron?* I know his common anſwer will bee, that God hath called him to this Office by the ſecret Inſtinct, and Motion of his Holy Spirit. But, then, he muſt not take it ill, if I yet farther aske him, by what ſignes, or markes, or teſtimonies, or tokens, he can either make it reaſonably appeare to himſelfe, or others, that God hath dealt with him as he dealt with ſome of the Prophets, or Apoſtles; called him from his Trade by ſuch a motion of his Spirit? *Eliſha* we know, made Iron ſwim, and knew mens Cloſet-diſcourſes in a farre Countrey, which was a ſure and certaine ſigne that God had called him to be a Prophet. The Apoſtles alſo we know, wrought many of Chriſts miracles, which was a moſt infallible ſigne that God had choſen them to be Apoſtles. If any of theſe men, who derive their warrant from the ſame ſacred ſpring, can make Iron ſwim, or like *Eliſha*, remaining here in their owne Iſrael, can tell us what the King of Syria ſaies in his Bed-chamber; Or if like Saint *Peter* they can cure fevers and diſeaſes by their bare ſhadowes paſſing over them; Or if, like the reſt of the Apoſtles, having never before knowne Letters, they can of a ſudden ſpeake all Languages, the Controverſie is at an end; It would bee a very great ſinne againſt the Spirit of God to deny, that hee is in them of a Truth.

But

But if all the proofe and signe they can give us that they have him, be onely a strong perswasion of themselves; Nay, if by an infallible Illumination they could assure themselves, that they have him, yet as many as have not the like infallible Illumination to assure them so too, will not be guilty of an unpardonable offence, if they suspect they have him not. For here, I must once more repeat my former Question, and aske by what effects, or signes of the Spirit, men shall know them to be called? By what? will some man say, why? Doe you not heare them preach, expound Scripture, unfold Prophecies, interpret Parables, nay plucke the veile and cloud from the Booke of Mysteries it selfe, the very *Revelation*? Can any of you great Schollers, with all your study of Philosophers, Fathers, Councells, Schoole-men, Historians, Oratours, Poets, either hold your Congregations longer, or send them away more edified? And will you yet ask Questions? Or doubt of the certainty of their vocation? I must not dissemble with you, if I could meet with an unlearned Handicraft-man, who without study, can doe this to the same height, and measure of Truth, as those unjustly-cryed downe, learned, and well-studied men doe, I should begin to alter my opinion; And should reckon him as hee deserves, in the number of the inspired. But alas, my Brethren, as I am not come hither to disparage the guifts of the Holy Ghost, in what person soever I finde them, or to perswade that Scripture rightly expounded, is not one, and the same, from the mouth of a Priest, or an inspired Lay-man; so this I must freely say to you, That as many of those strange Teachers as I have heard, have expounded Scripture indeed, and have ventured upon some of the hardest places of the Prophets. But, then, if all my studies of the Bible, assisted with all those holy, uncorrupted learned helps, which might enable mee to understand it aright, have not deceived me, their expositions, and Sermons, how passionately delivered, or how long soever, are evident proofes to mee that they have not the Spirit. If they had, they would never, certainely, expound Scripture so directly contrary to his meaning; Or make the writings of the Prophets or Apostles, weare only that present shape, not which the holy Ghost hath imprinted and stampt upon them, but which tends to the division of a Kingdom, and the confusion of a Church;

Nor would they, as they do, what ever the Text be, preſſe that ſenſe from it, not which is genuine, and naturall, but which tends moſt to the deſtruction of a party, or the fomentation of a moſt unnaturall Civill Warre. Saint *Paul* tells us in the fift Chapter of the Epiſtle to the *Galatians*, at the 22, and 23. Verſes, that *the fruits*, or effects *of the Spirit, are love, peace, long-ſuffering, gentleneſſe, meekneſſe, temperance.* He uſeth to ſpeake to men in the voice, and figure of a Dove: But to entitle him to all thoſe forbidden workes of the fleſh, of variance, hatred, ſedition, hereſies, envyings, murthers, and the like, there reckoned up in the precedent Verſes of that Chapter, is to make him ſpeake with the voice of a Raven.

In ſhort, my Brethren, the Holy Ghoſt is not the Author of ſuch Doctrines as breake Gods Commandements in the Pulpit. Nor is it a long Prayer, or a zealous two-houres reviling of the foot-ſteps of the Lords Anointed, their lawfull Soveraigne, which can make their Sermons to be any other then ſo much Libell, or holy Detractation; Or which can make their Intrepretations of the Word of God, how moderate ſoever in other caſes, if they be not agreeable to the ſcope, and minde, and intention of the Holy Ghoſt, to be any more then ſo many zealous miſtakes, and ſo many illegitimate births, and creatures of their own deluded fancies.

Next, in purſuit of this ſeaſonable Argument, give me leave, I pray, with all the plaineneſſe I can, (for I well know where I am, and to what Auditorie I ſpeake) to make it yet farther evident to you, that if I ſhould grant what theſe Αὐθήμεροι ἅγιοι, as S. *Baſil* calls them, theſe Saints of a daies growth, challenge to themſelves, who thinke that all that is required to make a Miniſter of the Goſpell, is τὸ βούλεσθαι, onely to be willing, and to ſtart up a Preacher. If, I ſay, it ſhould be granted them, that they have the inward calling of the Spirit, yet God is ſo much the God of order, that unleſſe they will enter themſelves into his ſervice, by undergoing thoſe Rites of Conſecration and Impoſition of Hands, which God hath preſcribed in his Church, to ſtand for ever as the outward formes and ſignes of their vocation too, every act of the Miniſterie which they performe, is but a ſacrifice like theirs who offered ſtrange fire before the Lord, and miſerably periſht by their owne forbidden Cenſors. Or if you will have me expreſſe the danger of it by a judgement

ſudgement as terrible. Thus to put their hand to the Arke, thus to ſupport it, if 'twere ready to fall, is ſuch an unwarranted piece of officiouſneſſe, as will (certainely) unrepented, at ſome time or other, draw the puniſhment of *Uzzrah* upon them, provoke the abuſed Almighty to breake forth in a flame of fire upon them, and conſume them for their unneceſſarie diligence. For here, all the Scripture examples which imbolden them to this worke, do returne upon them, as ſo many inſtances and proofes of their incroachment on our office. For here let me once more ask them, How was *Eliſha* called to be a Prophet? meerly by the ſecret, unknown whiſper and inſtinct of the holy Ghoſt? Truly, if he had, yet this would not make much for them; becauſe God never tyed himſelf preciſely to thoſe outward formes in the choice of a Prophet, which he then did, and ſtill doth in the choice of his Prieſts. Yet the calling of this Prophet was not without its viſible ſigne. *Goe*, ſaies God to *Elias*, in the 19. Chap. of the firſt booke of *Kings*, at the 16. Verſe, *Anoint* Eliſha *the Son of* Shaphat *to be Prophet in thy roome*. And whether the like Ceremony of powring oyle on his head, were not alſo performed by ſome elder Prophet upon *Amos* as the younger, as 'tis not affirmed, ſo 'tis not denyed in Scripture, but left probable. In the Conſecration of the Prieſts of thoſe times, the caſe is much more evident: Read at your leiſure the 29. Chapter of *Exodus*, there you ſhall finde, that before God would receive them into that ſacred function, firſt, divers Sacrifices were to bee offered for them; then they were to be brought to the door of the Tabernacle of the Congregation, and there to bee waſht; then the Prieſts Garments, the Coat, the Ephod, the Breſt-plate, and Mitre, were to be put upon them. Laſtly, followed the anointing oyle, which was powred upon their heads: And this was the Conſecration of the Prieſts of thoſe times.

The Ceremonies of Conſecration in the New Teſtament, were different, I confeſſe, from thoſe of the Old; but yet equivalent, and anſwerable to them in their kinde. Theſe were, a publike meeting of the Church together, a preſentation there made of the perſon to bee made a Prieſt; ſolemne prayers and ſupplications put up to God, to make him uſefull to his Church: and for a ſeale of all the reſt, the Impoſition of the Biſhops hands, aſſiſted by his Presbyters. Now, my Brethren, apply this to the ſtrange

Priests of our times, who with unwasht feet thrust themselves into the Tabernacle; not a sacrifice, not so much as a handfull of meale, or grain of Incense, or drop of oyl spent towards their Consecration; No solemne assembly, no presentation of themselves made to God, no imposition of hands, not so much as a short Prayer, or benediction, or God speed you, used towards their setting forth into the Lords Vineyard, and you will find that these are the theeves and robbers (pardon the hardnes of the language, I cannot make the Scripture speake mildlier then it doth) which our Saviour Christ speaks of in the 10. Chapter of S. *John* at the first Verse, *Men who enter not in by the doore into the sheep-fold, but climbe up some other way.* In briefe, men, whose Sermons and Doctrines correspond to their consecrations. By stealth they enter into the Ministery, and by stealth they exercise it. And whereas the mark and Character of all the true Ministers of the Gospel is to stand, *having their feet shod with the preparation of the Gospel of peace*, these men wander, and goe about, having their feet shod with the preparation of the Gospel of strife. Men, who never think themselves sufficiently Apostles, till all the world doe call them the sons of thunder too. Men who speake fire, and throw lightning among the people; and thinke they have then onely done the worke, and businesse of an Apostle, when they have cast the Congregation which they leave behind them into a cumbustion and flame. I shall trouble your patience but with one Objection, which may possibly be made against what I have hitherto said; that is this: Here, some one of these moderne, selfe-inspiring Teachers may say, Sir, you tell us of Ceremonies and Consecrations, and I know not what, Imposition of hands; but either you have forgot your selfe, or wisely dissembled the vocation of the Apostles. Were not they without your formality of laying on of hands, without all this adoe of conveying orders, and the holy Ghost by fingers, immediately called by Christ? What imposition of hands went to change S. *Peter* from a Fisher-man into an Apostle? or what Bishops Ceremonies past to make S. *Paul* (in whose person you have all this while preacht against us) of a persecutor of the Church to become a Doctor of the Gentiles? Doth not your own *Tertullian* say, *Nonne & Laici Sacerdotes sumus*, That any Lay-man, if he please, may be a Priest?

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To this I reply; first, As for the Apostles, 'tis true, indeed, we doe

doe not read that they were consecrated to their Ministerie by such Rites and Imposition of hands, as were afterwards received and practised in the Church. Yet something answerable to the Imposition of hands went to their Consecration, before they were invested with full Authority to preach the Gospell to the world. For besides their first vocation by Christ to be his Disciples, from whom they learnt that Gospell which they afterwards preacht, what saies the Scripture? *Tarry yee at Jerusalem*, sayes Christ to them, after his Resurrection, *till I send the promise of my Father upon you, and yee be indued with power from above.* And, pray, what was that promise, and what was this power? Certainly, that which you read of in the second Chapter of the *Acts*, where at the time prefixt by Christ, the Holy Ghost descended on them. And how did hee descend? in a still, soft, secret, invisible perswasion of the Fancy? Or in the silent whisper of an unperceived Illumination? No such matter, *Quod Episcopus aliis, Spiritus sanctus Apostolis*, saies a learned man. The holy Ghost here supplyed the Office of a Bishop, descended upon them in an audible rushing wind, which signified his election of them to the eare; And sate upon their heads in the shape of cloven Tongues of fire; which signified his election of them to the eye. *Hi ritus, hæc impositio*; These were his Ceremonies, this his Imposition of hands, sayes that Author. So that all the difference betweene the Admission of the Apostles to the Ministery, and others, was onely this: In other Consecrations the Bishop onely granted the power to preach, but bestowed not the Guifts; Here the Holy Ghost bestowed both. He first by visible, outward signes, testified to the world whom hee had chosen, and to whom they were to hearken; And then furnisht them with Tongues, and Languages, and knowledge, and parts, fit to be the Guides and great Instructers of the world. Let these men make it appeare to me, that the Holy Ghost hath thus descended upon them, thus furnisht them with parts, and I will most willingly resign my place to them in the Pulpit.

Luk. 24.

Next, as for S. *Paul*, 'tis cleare by the story of his Conversion, that he received not his Commission to preach from that which Christ spoke to him immediately from Heaven. But what saies the place? After he was fallen to the Earth blinde, *Arise*, saies Christ to him, *and goe into the City, and there it shall be told thee what thou must*

Acts 9.

muſt doe. When hee came into the City, a certaine Diſciple named *Ananias*, pre-inſtructed by Chriſt in a viſion, was ſent to him, who
17. putting his hands on him, ſaies the Text, ſaid to him, *Brother Saul, the Lord (even Jeſus that appeared to thee in the way) hath ſent me, that thou mightſt receive thy ſight, and be filled with the Holy Ghoſt.* Till his Impoſition of hands, the holy Ghoſt was not beſtowed upon him. And when he was beſtowed upon him, yet he had not his full Commiſſion; he was but yet a Diſciple conſecrated by a Diſciple. To make him an out-right Apoſtle, a higher, ſecond, and more ſolemne conſecration paſt upon him, which you may read in the 13. Chapter of the *Acts*, where, ſayes the Holy Ghoſt to the Prophets, and Teachers of the Church of Antioch, *Separate me* Barnabas *and* Saul, *for the worke whereunto I have called them*, Ver. 2. And how were they ſeparated I pray? The third Verſe tells you, *When the Prophets and Teachers* (there mentioned) *had faſted, and prayed, and laid their hands on them*, ſaies the Text, *they ſent them away*, till then they wanted power. To which paſſage of this vocation, or calling to the Miniſtery, give me leave to adde this for his parts. That in a humane way of acquired Learning, hee was the greateſt Scholler of his time, bred up at the feet of *Gamaliel*, a great Doctor of Law, ſpoke more Tongues, attained by his owne Induſtry, then all the other Apoſtles, which had almoſt all Languages inſtilled into them by infuſion. In ſhort, he was verſt, and read, and ſtudied, not onely in the Scripture, but in the higheſt parts of ſecular learning; In the writings of *Menander*, *Epimenides*, and *Aratus*, Heathen Poets. Which is ſure ſigne to us, that ſtudies, and learning, and parts acquired in Univerſities, ar no hindrances, or impediments, if not helps to the Miniſtery. Laſtly, as for that ſaying of *Tertullian*, that Lay-men may be Prieſts, hee tells you, in the following words, in what caſe this is to be underſtood. *Ubi Eccleſiaſtici ordinis non eſt conſeſſus*; Where the condition of the time and place is ſuch, that Eccleſiaſticall orders cannot be had; If a Chriſtian Lay-man ſhould come into a Pagan Iſland, or into a Countrey of Heathen people, where there is no true Miniſter, here *Tinguis, & offers, & ſacerdos es*, everie man is a Prieſt, and may baptize, and adminiſter the Sacrament, and preach as much of the Goſpell as hee knowes. But where this neceſſity is not, to ſnatch the Sermon out of the mouth, or the Sacrament out of the hands

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or the child out of the armes of the true Minister, is certainly to to be in the number of those uncalled Teachers, of whom God complaines in the 23. Chapter of *Jeremy*, at the 21. Verse, where he saies, *I have not sent these Prophets, yet they ran; I have not spoken to them, yet they prophecied.* And farther then this I will not pursue the first thing I proposed to you; which was by occasion of Saint *Pauls* calling to be an Apostle, to remove an errour of late taken into the minds of some, that crafts-men may exercise the place and function of a Priest.

The next thing I shall observe to you, is, the holy art and insinuation which S. *Paul* here useth to win upon the minds of his disagreeing *Corinthians*. Though he professe, in the beginning of the next Chapter, that he came not to them with that part of an Orator about him, which consists in the excellency of speech, or the entising words of mans wisdome, (lest if he had done so, he might perhaps, have gained much glory to himselfe, but then his Master must have been in danger to lose his, and so the Gospell have suffered from his Eloquence; and his Epistles might, perhaps, have past for a good piece of Rhetorick, but not for good Sermons) yet he every where carried this other, equally prevailing part of a good Orator with him, that by complying with the affections of those to whom he wrote, he first transformed himselfe into their shapes, and became all things to all men, that he might the better transforme them into his, and make all men become like himselfe. Thus to the Jewes he became as a Jew; and put himselfe a while with them under the Law, that by insensible degrees hee might take their yoke from them, and might beget their liking, and entertainment of the Gospell. And thus to the Gentiles, who were without the Law, he became as a Gentile, without the Law too, that he might unite them to the Jewes. If I may speake of him, by his owne description of himselfe, (and certainly, in that description of himselfe, he was inspired to speake truth as well as in his other writings) as he was not chosen, like the rest of the Apostles, out of Fisher-men, or men unlearned, nor call'd to preach the Gospell from mending Nets; But as there was a concurrence of naturall, acquired, and infused abilities in him, which rendred him though not one of the twelve, yet of equall guifts and endowments to them all. Lastly, as his taske and patent to preach the Gospell

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was much larger then the reſt, as much larger, as the reſt of mankind was larger then the Nation of the Jewes; So in the performance of his taske, he never failed to expreſſe all this. Like the beaſt, of which *Pliny* ſpeakes, which puts on the likeneſſe of every thing next it, and ſhowes like a flower before a flower, like a ſtreame before a ſtreame, and like a flame before a flame; ſo 'twas a piece of this Apoſtles (Art ſhall I ſay? or) holy commiſſion, to be *all things to all men.* Strong with the ſtrong, and weak with the weake. To part with his Liberty to the ſcrupulous, and to uſe it with the indifferent. To eat all things wtth thoſe that did eat all things, and with thoſe that did not, to keep himſelfe to herbes. Will you heare him in all theſe particulars expreſſe himſelfe? Turne to the ninth Chapt. of this Epiſtle, and to the nineteen Verſe, where ſetting downe the end, and aime, which hee propoſed to all his holy Arts, he ſaies, *Though I be free from all men,* that is, no way obliged to doe as I doe, but for my Maſters ſervice, *yet have I made myſelfe a ſervant to all, that I might win the more.* Now if humility, and the caſting of himſelfe below himſelfe; if to beſeech, and entreat, and petition there, where he had ſufficient authority and commiſſion to enjoyne and command, be to wear the forme of a ſervant; and if all diſcreet behaviours, compliances, and applications, take their meaſure, and uſe, and praiſe, from the good end to which they are directed, and the good ſucceſſe which they are likely to procure, in all his Epiſtles I finde not this Apoſtle more expediently making uſe of his Art in the forme of a ſuppliant, then in this Text. For conſider theſe *Corinthians*, to whom he here applies himſelfe, divided, and broken into Factions; and theſe Factions ſeverally deriving themſelves, ſome from him, others from *Cephas*, others from *Apollos*, (Names in their opinions, as holy, and great as his) and to have dealt imperiouſly with them, or to have uſed his Apoſtolicall power, and to have commanded them to agreement, had not been to make peace, but to animate, and inflame that party which called themſelves his ſide. It had been too, to call up oppoſition, and diſdaine in the others, who were not of that ſide. Who citing *Apollos*, or Saint *Peter* againſt him, and thinking it to be ſome confeſſion of their error and weakneſſe to yeeld firſt, or to go over to them who ſaid they were of *Paul*, it being as reaſonable that they ſhould come over to them,

who

who ſaid they were of *Cephas* or *Apollos*, might have askt the ſame queſtion which the ſtriving Iſraelite askt *Moſes, Who made thee a Judge over us?* And might have ſeconded this queſtion with another, and have askt him, how one intereſted, and ingaged, nay the head (as they conceived) of a Faction, could be preſumed to be an impartiall reconciler? The better therefore, to eſtabliſh a peace and concord among them, S. *Paul* in this Chap. proceeds by three conducible waies of Reconciliation. At the 13. Ver. hee cleares himſelfe from all intereſt and ingagement to a ſide; and equally blaming thoſe who ſaid they were of *Paul*, as thoſe who ſaid they were of *Cephas*, or *Apollos*; he askes them how it came to paſſe, that they dealt with the Goſpell of Chriſt, which was entire and ſeamleſſe, like his Coat, as the Souldiers did with his other Garments, divided it by a kinde of blind Lottery among them, and every one take his ſhare? *Is Chriſt divided?* Saies he. *Was* Paul *crucified for you?* Or *were ye baptized in the name of* Paul? If you were not, why doe you raiſe a Sect, and Faction from him? VVhy doe you call your ſelves by way of marke and diſtinction, *Pauliſts?* And ſo turn the name of your Preacher and Apoſtle, into the name of a Schiſme and ſide?

Next, as he well knew that the readyeſt way to reconcile all ſides, was to manifeſt himſelfe to be of none; ſo he well knew too, that he that would knit, and re-unite diſagreeing mindes, was not to deale roughly, or magiſterially with them, (for that were to loſe both; and to turne the enmity and hatred which they held between themſelves, upon the Reconciler, who ſtrived to make them friends) but was to quench ſuch diſcords with ſoft language, and to cure ſuch rents and wounds of the Church by pouring oyle into them. Though, therfore, being armed with the authority of Chriſt himſelfe, he might, with juſtice enough, have made Decrees and Ordinances to bind them to agreement, yet he rather chooſeth to reconcile them to one another with their owne conſents. In a mild, and humble addreſſe of himſelfe; therefore, not entitling himſelfe more to one ſide then anonher, he equally beſeecheth them all, that he might the more regardfully be liſtned to by all. And he beſeecheth them for things which little concerned himſelfe, but for their owne good. He petitions them that they would be ſaved, and ſpends intreaties that they would vouchſafe to goe to

heaven. He requeſts them that they would not be worſe Chriſtians, that is, Schiſmatiques and Seperatiſts, then they were Heathens, that is, unanimous Idolaters.

Laſtly, he begs of them that they would once more be a Church and City; that is, a place of communion, and ſociety, and Chriſtian converſation. And that hee might the more prevailingly obtaine this of them, he addreſſeth himſelfe to them in a ſtile and compellation of the greateſt and gentleſt perſwaſion to peace that can bee uſed, and calls them *Brethren*. A word, which to remove all opinion of better or worſe, or of inferiour or ſuperiour, (the uſuall grounds of diſcord) not only ſignifies an equality between the beſeecher and the beſeeched, and the beſeeched among themſevles; (For *Eſſe Fratres eſt relatio inter æquales*, ſayes the Lawyer as well as the Logician; to be brethren, carries a reference of equality to one another) but it implies all the naturall and religious grounds for which men ought to maintaine League and Agreement, and Peace with one another. For in calling them *Brethren*, he called them men of the ſame fociable kinde, equally deſcended from the ſame common Originall and ſtock, and equally wearing in their nature one and the ſame common Image of God. And therefore, for this they were not to diſagree, or quarrell with one another: Since likeneſſe of kinde maintains agreement between ſavage beaſts and Tygers. *Leonum feritas inter ſe non dimicat, ſerpentium morſus non petunt ſerpentes*; Who ever heard of a Lyon devovred by a Lyon? Or who ever heard of a Serpent ſtung by a Serpent? much leſſe ſhould men then, bite and devour, and prey upon one another.

Againe, in calling them Brethren, beſides the naturall affinity that was between them as men, he put them in minde of their ſpirituall alliance, as they were Chriſtians too. That is, men allied to one another by one common Faith, one common Hope, one common Redemption, and therefore to meet in one common bond of Peace and Charity too. *Rixari, & ſe invicem convitiis laceſſere Infidelium eſt*; Tis for Infidells, and men not converted to the Faith, to provoke, or brawle, or quarrell with one another.

Thirdly, leſt all this ſweetneſſe of addreſſe and language ſhould not prevaile, he joynes Conjuration to Petition, but vailes it in the ſtile and forme of a Petition too, and beſeecheth them to unity by the name of his, and their Lord Jeſus Chriſt. A name, by which

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as he had before diſpoſſeſt Devills, cured ſickneſſes, and reſtored the dead to life againe, ſo he repueſts that he may diſpoſſeſſe opinions, cure diviſions, and reſtore agreement by it too. It being that name into which they were all baptized, and to which they had all paſt their promiſes, and vowes. Laſtly, a name by which they were all to be ſaved; and by which they, by whoſe names (to the blemiſh and diſparagement of this) they called themſelves, were, with them, equally to be called, that is, Chriſtians.

Here then, 'twere much to be wiſht, that the Preachers of our times would deale with their diſagreeing flocks, as this Apoſtle dealt with his: That is, that they would imploy their holy, and religious arts and endeavours, by ſweetneſſe of language, and indifferencie of behaviour to all parties, to reconcile them. For ſince it may be truly ſaid of Preachers, what was once ſaid of Orators, that the people are the waters, and they the windes that move them; to be thus the windes to them, as to ſpeak, and move, and blow them into waves and billowes, which ſhall roll, and ſtrike, and daſh, and breake themſelves againſt each other; Or to be thus the windes to them, as to rob them of their calme, and to trouble the peaceſull courſe, and ſtreame of things well ſetled, and to raiſe a ſtorme and tempeſt there, where they ſhould compoſe and allay one, is not to act the part of an Apoſtle, or of a Preacher of the Goſpell, but of an *Erynnis*, or Fury, who aſcending from hell with a firebrand in her hand, and ſnakes on her head, ſcatters warres, and ſtrifes, and hatreds, and murthers, and treaſons, and betrayings of one another as ſhe paſſeth. Every haire of her head hurld among the people becomes a ſedition, and ſerpent; and every ſhaking of her Torch ſets Villages, and Towns, and Cities and Kingdomes, and Empires in a Combuſtion.

Alas, my brethren, how many ſuch furies, rather then Preachers, have for ſome yeares walkt among us? Men who ſpeaking to the people in a whirle-winde, and breathing nothing but pitcht-fields, and ſieges, and ſlaughters of their Brethren, doe profeſſe no Sermon to be a Sermon, which rends not the Rockes and the Mountaines before it: forgetting that God rather dwells in ſtill, ſoft voices. 'Tis true indeed, the Holy Ghoſt once aſſumed the ſhape of cloven Tongues of fire: But that was not from thence to beget Incendiaries of the Church; Teachers whoſe Doctrine ſhould

be cloven too; and which ſhould tend onely to divide their Congregations.

If I ſhould aske you, from whence have ſprung our preſent diſtractions? Or, who are they who keep the wounds of our divided Kingdome bleeding? Are they not certaine tempeſtuous, uncharitable active men, who make it their work and buſineſſe to rob men of the greateſt temporal bleſſing of the Scripture, and to preach every man out of the ſhade of his owne Vine, and out of the fruit of his owne Fig-tree, and out of the water of his owne Ciſterne? Are they not men who will ſtone you for your Vineyard, and then urge Scripture for it? And will take away your field, your poſſeſſion, your daily bread from you, and then repay you with a piece of *Eſay* or *Ezekiel*, or one of the Prophets, and call this melting, and reformation? Are they not men who doe onely profeſſe to have the art not to heale, or cloſe, or reconcile, but to inflame, and kindle ſides? Men who blow a Trumpet in the Pulpit, and there breath nothing but thunder, and ruine, and deſolation, and deſtruction, Whoſe followers call themſelves *Brethren*, indeed, and boaſt much of their charity; But they call only ſuch as are of their owne confederacy, Brethren: and make no other uſe of the word which was at firſt impoſed by Chriſt, to bee the ſtile and marke of agreement and peace, then to bee the word and mark to know a faction by, and make no other uſe of their charity, which ſhould extend it ſelfe to all men, even to their very enemies, but onely to keep themſelves together in a ſeparation and conſpiracy.

Laſtly, theſe are the men, who when they ſhould ſtrive to quench the preſent flame with their teares, do conjure as earneſtly by the name of Chriſt to diſcord and confuſion, as S. *Paul* here in this Text doth to order and agreement. Men who call it prophecy, and edification, and building up of the people, when they breake and divide them into Sects and Factions. As zealouſly exhorting them to ſpeake divers things, as S. *Paul* here exhorts them to ſpeake all the ſame. Which is the next thing to be conſidered; and the firſt ſtep towards the reconciliation, and peace, here petitioned for, which is unity and agreement in compellations and names in theſe words, *Now I beſeech you Brethren, that yee all ſpeak the ſame thing.*

Whether the diſperſion of men, after the building of the Tower of

of *Babell*, over the face of the whole earth, were a punishment or a blessing to mankinde, I shall not in this Auditory examine or dispute. Only thus much we learne from the History of that place, that the occasion of that dispersion and separation of men from one another, sprung first from the confusion which God threw among them, and that confusion sprung from their diversity of speech. For as speech was at first bestowed upon us by God, that wee might hold league and society, and friendship with one another: so you may read in the 11. Chapter of *Genesis*, that as long as all the world was of one language, and of one speech, they lived unanimously together like men of one family and house. One heart, one soule seemed to move in them all. But when they once ceast to be *unius labii homines*, men of the same lip and speech, when as many languages were throwne among them, as they afterwards possest Countries, then society, and co-habitation, and brotherhood ceast among them too. *They were scattered abroad upon the face of all the earth*, saies the Scripture. They who were before children of the same common Ancestours, and derived themselves from the same common parentage and stock, as if they had been borne in the adverse Hemispheres of the world, or had taken their beginning from as many severall Parents, as they afterwards found Islands, of one great Family and Kindred, became so many divided Nations.

As this diversity of Tongues at first broke the world into the severall crumbles and portions of men, who from that time to this have divided it among them; so there is not any one thing which hath so fatally divided Kingdomes, and States, and Churches against themselves, sometimes to an utter extirpation, many times to an eternall breach, and Irreconciliation, as diversity of Language. I doe not meane when men speake divers tongues of severall dialects, and significations, (as when they at the building of *Babell* spoke some of them Hebrew perhaps, some of them Greek) but my meaning is, that nothing more directly tends to the division of a State, or Church, then for severall companies of men to distinguish, and divide and separate themselves from one another by certaine words and names of marke and difference, especially if they be words of disgrace, and scandall, and reproach, mutually imposed, and stuck upon each other; Or words of faction, and combination

combination, assumed and taken by themselves. Then, if hatred of person, or difference of Religion doe accompany such words of distinction, that for the most part befalls them, which befell the men of the old world, they breake society and Communion, and crumble asunder; and of one people become so many divided Nations, and Churches to each other. This is an Engine which the Devill and wicked Polititians have in all ages of the world made use of, to disturb the peace, and trouble the happinesse of Kingdomes and Common-wealths. Making holy, vertuous words and names, many times the partition wall of separation; And the device, and incitement, not onely to divide Kingdomes but Corporations, and private Families against themselves. As long as the Jewes called themselves by one and the same common name of their Father *Jacob*, Israelites, they made but one State, one Common-wealth among them. But when once ten Tribes ingrossed that name to themselves, and the other two for distinction sake called themselves by the name of the Tribe of *Judah*, the most united, happiest, neerliest allied people in the world, a people of one blood, as well as one language, fell asunder, and divided themselves, like *Jacob* and *Esau*, into two hostile, irreconcileable, never more to bee united Kingdomes. And this was the case of these disagreeing Corinthians, to whom S. *Paul* directed this Text. As long as they called themselves by one, and the same common name of Christians, they made but one City, one Church, one place of Concord. But when they once began to distinguish themselves by their severall Teachers, when some said, *We are of Paul*, others, *we are of Cephas*: A third sort, *we are of Apollos*; And onely a fourth sort, more Orthodox then the rest, *we are of Christ*; Then, then indeed, as if Christ had been divided, or had beene the Author of severall Religions, preacht among them by severall Apostles, they became broken, and rent, and torne asunder, into severall Churches and Congregations. Where their usuall custome was, not onely to oppose Sermon against Sermon, and Gospell against Gospell, and Teacher against Teacher, but everie one in the defence of their owne Teacher, and his Gospell, thought it part of their Religion to extoll, and quote, and urge the purity and infallibility of the one, to the depression, and disgrace, and contempt of the other: Till at length it came to passe, (as I told you before) that that which be-

begun in Religion, proceeded to bad manners, and ill behaviour. Markes and words of diſtinction, and difference, grew to bitter invectives, and mutuall reproaches of one another. They who were the followers of Saint *Pauls* Doctrine, called thoſe who followed *Apollos*, by way of marke and infamy, *Apoloniſts*. And they who were the followers of *Apollos*, by way of retaliation, and brand, called the followers of Saint *Paul*, *Pauliſts*, though Saint *Paul* and *Apollos* preach both the ſame Doctrine. Hard cenſures flew between them in as hard language; who ever was not of a party, nor enrolled of a ſide, was thought to be without the pale of the Church. The gates of heaven were ſhut againſt him, and nothing but reprobation, and the lot of the damned, and hell fire were allowed to be his portion.

Here then, my Brethren, let me make my appeale to every one of you, who heare me this day, hath not this been our verie caſe? I muſt with ſorrow of heart confeſſe to you, that as often as I have for ſome yeares, made to my ſelfe a contemplative ſurvey of this unhappie Kingdome, I have been able to diſcover no cauſe ſo pernicious for the many alienations of mind, or the many ſeparations of Congregation from Congregation, heightned at length into the tragedy of an over-ſpreading Civill War, as certain vain, ridiculous, empty words, and names of diſtinction among us; which have ſprung from ſome mens ſtricter or looſer carriage of themſelves in their profeſſion of the ſame Religion. They of the more free, and open carriage and behaviour, who call a ſevere regularity and ſtrictneſſe of life, preciſeneſſe, and an abridgement of Chriſtian liberty, have called thoſe of a more reſerved, and lockt up, and demure converſation, Puritans, and Round-heads, and I know not what other names of contumely, and reproach. And they of the more ſtrict behaviour, have equally as faulty, called thoſe of a freer, and leſſe compoſed converſation, Libertines, and Papiſts; the uſuall words of infamy made to ſignifie a Cavalier. Theſe two words my Brethren, have almoſt deſtroyed a flouriſhing Kingdome between them.

To this, I cannot but adde one moſt pernicious cauſe of our preſent diviſions more, which people have derived to themſelves from making themſelves followers too much of ſeverall Teachers; and affecting too much to bee called after their names: whileſt one

ſaies,

ſaies, *I am of Paul*, another, *I am of Cephas*, a third, *I am of Apollos*, only a few neutrall men, *We are of Chriſt*. Nay, if we needs muſt goe ſeverall waies, I could wiſh wee had ſuch ſacred names as S. *Paul*, or S. *Peter*, or *Apollos* to divide us. I know not whether it will be ſeaſonable for me to ſpeake it in this Aſſembly: But we for ſome late yeares have choſen to our ſelves names more moderne, and fallible to divide our ſelves by; whileſt ſome have ſaid, *We are of Calvin*, others, *We are of Arminius*, others, *We are of Socinus*. Theſe, to the blemiſh, and reproach of Chriſtian Religion, have been made names of ſtrife and faction. Yet they have been great and learned names; though ſome of them, I muſt confeſſe, have been lyable to humane Errours. But if you conſider the many rents and ſeparations into which the ordinary ſort of people have for ſome years divided themſelves, either you will find no names at all for them, or names ſo unlearned, ſo obſcure, ſo altogether mechanick, and unconſiderable, that it will be your wonder how ſuch vulgar, rude, untaught Teachers ſhould draw Diſciples after them. It would poſe me very much to tell you by any Monument of learning, or piety, which he hath left behind him to be knowne by, who was the Father, or firſt bringer up of the Sect of the Browniſts; or who was the firſt Author of the Sect of the Anabaptiſts. I know there were Anabaptiſts in divers of the Fathers times; and I know too, that the Parent of that Sect then, though he were an Hereticke, yet hee was a Scholler. But as for the Author of the Sect of the Anabaptiſts of our times, I cannot well ſay what he was. One who hath written the Hiſtory of their wilde proceedings at *Munſter*, (where they begun with the Reformation of the Church of Jeſus Chriſt, and proceeded at length to three wives a piece) ſaies, hee was a Dutch Botcher; one who repaird old Germents under a ſtall at *Leyden* in the Low-Countries; Another ſayes, he was a Garmane Cobler; A third, that hee was a Weſtphalia Needle-maker; But another controlls that, and ſaies he was a Weſtphalia Baker. But whatever hee were, have not we in our times ſeene Patriarches and Prophets, as vulgar and mechanick, as unlearned and baſe as he? Men who have invaded the Pulpit. I will not ſay, from mending old breeches, or cobling old ſhoes, (pardon the homelineſſe of the expreſſion I beſeech you, it is but the Hiſtorians Latine tranſlated into my Engliſh) but from

Trades

Trades ſo meane, ſo diſ-ingenuous, ſo illiberall, that I ſhould defile your eares, and the Pulpit to deſcribe them: And yet, have not theſe moderne ſhades of *Muntzer*, *John of Leyden*, *Rotman*, *Knippenburge*, *Knipperdolling*, *Melchior Hoffman*, the great Enthuſiaſts, and diſturbers of *Germany*, to the Aſtoniſhment of all Judging men, drawn Diſciples after them, I wiſh I could only ſay, as meane, and baſe, and vulgar as themſelves? Certainly, my brethren, conſider the parallel well betweene the inſpired Troublers of our Kingdome, and thoſe, who by their wild Doctrines did ſet *Weſtphalia*, *Saxony*, *Munſter*, and all the nobleſt parts of the Germane Empire in a flame, and you will finde, that in this ſad Eclipſe of Monarchy among us, there wants onely a *Sarcinator*, or botcher, to aſſume to himſelfe the Crowne, and to be called by a *Sanedrim* or privy Councell of the like Trades, *Rex Juſtitiæ, & novæ Jeruſalem Imperator*, King of Righteouſneſſe, and Emperour of the new Jeruſalem, to make our caſe the very ſame with theirs.

Againe, in this diverſitie of Guides and paſtors, (Paſtors ſcarce fit to be Overſeers of unreaſonable Flocks) do we not alſo hear as great a diverſity of language ſpoken? The Lay-Preacher accuſeth the Univerſity-man with want of the Spirit; and we of the Univerſity doe backe again account ſuch Lay-men mad. Nay among us Schollars, they who pretend to *Calvins* Doctrine, doe baniſh all thoſe out of the ſtate of ſalvation, who deny abſolute Predeſtination; Or hold not, that from all eternity without any reſpect of their workes or actions, whether they be good or bad, God hath paſt this ſad irreverſible ſentence and decree, That ſome ſhall neceſſarily be ſaved, others ſhall as neceſſarily be damned. They who thinke this a piece of Stoiciſme, or a Doctrine brought into the world to drive People to deſpaire, doe equally baniſh thoſe from the ſtate of ſalvation, who thus uncharitably baniſh others. But what ſpeake I to you of this Congregation of ſuch high, ſchollarly diſſentions? or diſcourſe to you of diſputes and controverſies, not in the power of Scripture, Synods, or Generall Councells to decide? That which hath more troubled the peace of our diſtracted Kingdome, hath been a ſtrife of words about things as ſmall as Cummin, or Anniſe: And about that part of the Kingdome of heaven, which lies not wrapt up in an unſearchable Decree, or an eternall ſentence of Gods concealed Will, but in a grain of muſtard-ſeed: A little, ſleight indifferent Ceremony, or piece of Church-Diſcipline. One hath called it an Idolatry to make an obeyſance

in the Church; another hath call'd it a piece of Gods outward worſhip to doe ſo. One hath ſtiled the Croſſe in Baptiſme a ſigne of Superſtition; another hath ſtiled it the marke, and badge, and embleme of his Chriſtianity and profeſſion. One calls all Pictures in Church windowes, Idols; another looks on them as ſo much holy ſtory, brought into Imagery and Colours. The very garments we weare have not eſcaped contradiction. One calls the Surplice a Romiſh veſture; another calls it a white robe of Innocence, and Decencie. Nay our very Prayers and Devotions have not been free from quarrels. Whilſt ſome have called the Lords Prayer, A perfect forme, enjoyned by Chriſt to be ſaid as it is; others moſt irreverently have called it a Taylors Meaſure, fit onely to cut out other Petitions by.

In this miſerable diverſity of ſides, then, where Countrymen, and men of the ſame ſpeech, doe ſo ordinarily ſpeak divers languages, What way is there left to beget a peace and union among us?

Truly, my brethren, I know none ſo fit as that which Saint *Paul* here preſcribes in this Text; a way, which if it were well practiſed, or if men would either have more charity, or leſſe gall in them, would in time beget an union and agreement between all Churches; that is, ἵνα τὸ αὐτὸ λέγωμεν πάντες, *that we all ſpeake the ſame thing*. That is, firſt, that wee lay aſide all thoſe odious, hatefull names and words of reproach, which ſerve onely to Provoke and engender ſtrifes, and to beget a diſlike of one mans converſation with another; that the honeſt, ſtrict, regular, heedfull, conſcientious man, be no longer called a Puritane, nor his wife a holy Siſter; Nor the free, ſociable, affable, open, harmleſly unſcrupulous man, be any longer called a Papiſt, or Atheiſt, or by way of reproach, a Cavallier. I ſpeak not now of the adulterous, ſwearing, riotous, lying, drinking, covetous man; theſe are ſuch, that one of the wayes to reforme them, is to call them by their right names.

Next, that we no longer, as our intereſt, or affections, or prejudices, or education, or cuſtomes ſway us, pin our beleefe or faith upon any one Particular Guide or Teacher, ſo irremoveably, as without compariſon or examination to reject and deſpiſe al others. I am of opinion we ſhould quickly make one Church againe, if thoſe new-borne names and words of *Independent* and *Preſbyter* did

not

not divide us. And I am alſo Perſwaded, that our ſeverall Diſciplines and Doctrines have not kept the Church of *Rome* at a greater diſtance with us, then the ſtyle and compellation of *Proteſtant* and *Papiſt*

Thirdly, that we Schollars, in thoſe high myſterious poynts which have equall argument and proofe on both ſides, and which both ſides (for ought I know) may hold yet meet in heaven, doe factiouſly or peremptorily betake our ſelves to neither; But either lay them aſide, as things of meere contemplation, not of practiſe or uſe; or elſe ſpeak of them to the people, onely in that generall ſenſe wherein all ſides agree, and as that generall ſenſe is laid downe to us in the Scripture.

Laſtly, that in matters of Ceremony and forme, things either altogether indifferent, or at moſt, neither enjoyned, nor forbidden in the Scripture, that our carriage and words be alwayes as indifferent: That we call not that ſcandalous which is decent; or that decent which is ſcandalous: That we preſſe not things as neceſſary, which are meerly ornamentall; nor impoſe ornaments as things of neceſſity. That where no well-eſtabliſht Law is broken by it, both in Actions and Language, where ever we come, we conforme our ſelves to the harmleſſe (though to us unuſuall) cuſtome of the place: Herein imitating that ſure example of S. *Paul*, by being *ſtrong with the ſtrong*, and *weak with the weak*, as neere as we can, to *become all things to all men*. In things meerly Ceremoniall, to part with our Chriſtian liberty, and peaceably to yeeld to thoſe, who, being otherwiſe perſwaded, will contentiouſly refuſe to part with theirs. And where our ſalvation, or the ſalvation of our neighbour is not concerned, charitably to comply, and ſort with their infirmities; neither croſſing them by our practice, though perhaps the better, nor perplexing them with our diſputes, though perhaps the more rationall: But if it be poſſible, as much as lies in us, not only to have peace with all men in words and ſpeech, but in ſociety, and converſation, and Church-Aſſemblies too: Which is the next degree of Unity here petitioned for, that is, an unity of meeting together in the ſame houſe of God, ſet downe in theſe words, *I beſeech you Brethren, that there be no diviſions among you.*

That I may the clearlier proceed in the interpretation of this part of the Text, I ſhall deſire you to obſerve, that the word which we

Unity of Ordinances.

we here in Englifh doe tranſlate *Diviſions*, is in the Originall Greek (by which we are to order our expoſition) σχίσματα: A word which ſignifies not every kinde of rent, or diviſion, or diſagreement among men; but ſuch a diviſion onely as is accompanied with a perverſe, unreaſonable deniall of ſociety and communion together in the ſame Church. A diviſion which carries with it an obſtinate ſeparation upon unneceſſary grounds. Which unneceſſary ſeparation upon weake, ſlight grounds, is that which Saint *Paul* here in this Text, by way of difference and diſtinction from lighter Rents, calls σχίσματα, Schiſmes. A ſin, my Brethren, of which if I ſhould diſcourſe to you at large, and ſhould ſhew you the hainouſneſs of it, by its dangerous effects; I might tell you that it is not only a ſin againſt the ſociable nature of men, who are borne for Communion and Commerce, and the mutuall help of one another; but it is a ſin directly againſt that unity and peace, which Chriſt, as his laſt Legacy bequeath'd to his Church. A ſin, which (beſides the uncharitable opinion which accompanies it, which is, that they who are ſeparated from, muſt therefore be ſeparated from, becauſe they are wicked, deplorably wicked men, men reprobated, and utterly loſt in the wayes of Errour, and with whom all communion is deſtructive to our Salvation) doth not alwaies confine it ſelfe within the retired, ſequeſtred limits of a bare ſeparation. But that which at firſt began from a ſcruple, hath many times proceeded to a Tragedy and maſſacre. They who at firſt cauſeleſly ſeparated themſelves from their Brethren, becauſe they were wicked, have many times, as their ſtrength and numbers have encouraged them, and as the time hath favoured their Reformation (as they have called it) proceeded from the rectifying of mens Errors, to the leſſening of their fortunes. And they only have at length been called the wicked, who have been rich, and have had eſtates to loſe.

That onely which I ſhall further ſay to you of it, is this: Separation is a ſin which hath alwaies veyl'd it ſelfe in the diſguiſe of ſanctity. Thus *Montanus*, and his followers broke off Communion with the whole Chriſtian Church then in the world, becauſe, forſooth, 'twas revealed to them by divine illumination, that the Holy Ghoſt was no where to be found but in their Conventicle. An Hereſie, which beginning in Schiſme proceeded at length to this monſtrous conceit among them, That only the houſe of *Mon-*

tanus

tanus was the true Church, and that *Montanus* himselfe was the Holy Ghost. Thus also the *Donatists* (an over-scrupulous Sect of men) divided themselves from the then Catholique Church, because it was not pure enough for such sanctified Communicants; nor complied with the inspired doctrines of the Father of that Sect. And this, it seems, was the fault of these *Corinthians* here in this Text; who having intitled themselves to severall Teachers, proceeded by degrees to divide themselves into severall Churches and Congregations: every one of which challenging to themselves the true and right Religion, and charging the others with the name of the false, thought at length that no way was left to keep themselves pure and unspotted, but by breaking off all Religious, nay Civill Commerce and Communion with each other. Hence, for feare of infection, it was held a crime for any but the Righteous, to assemble, or converse with any but the Righteous; or for any to meet together at a spirituall Exercise, but such who first agreed in the same purity of Opinions.

Here, then, if I may once more take the liberty to parallel one people with another; is not this our very case? Hath it not been the practice of many, many yeares, for those who call themselves the godly, the righteous, the children of the most High, to breake off society and communion, nay almost neighbourly civility, with those whom they call the wicked? As there were among the Jewes certaine uncleane places, and things, and persons, which whosoever toucht were for that time uncleane too; so, hath not the like opinion past among us, that there have been certaine unholy, unsanctified places, and persons, which make those who touch, or approach neer them unholy too? Have not some Pulpits been thought unsanctified, because, forsooth, the Preacher hath been ungifted? And wherein, I pray, hath his ungiftednes appeared? Because hee hath not expressed himself in that light, fluent, running, passionate, zealous stile, which should make him for that time seem religiously distracted, or beside himselfe? Or because his Prayer or Sermon hath been premeditated, and hath not flowne from him in such an *Ex-tempore* loose careere of devout emptinesses and nothings, as serve onely to entertaine the people, as Bubbles doe children, with a thin, unsolid, brittle, painted blast of wind and ayre? Or because, perhaps, the sands of his Glasse have not fleeted for

two

two tedious houres together with nothing but the bold insolent defamation and reviling of his Prince?

Againe, have there not been some who have thought our Temples unholy, because the Common-Prayer Booke hath been read there? And have renounced the Congregation, where part of the Service hath been tuned through an Organ? Hath not a dumb Picture in the window driven some from the Church? And in exchange of the Oratories, have not some in the heat and zeale of their Separation, turned their Parlours, Chambers, and Dining-roomes into Temples, and Houses of Prayer? Nay, hath not Christ been worshipt in places yet more vile and mean? In places, which have reduced him the second time to a Stable? If I should aske the people of both Sexes, who are thus given to separation, and with whom a Repetition in a Chamber edifies more then a learned Sermon in the Church, upon what religious grounds, or motives either taken from the Word of God, (which is so much in their mouthes) or from reason, (which is so little in their practice) they thus affect to single and divide themselves from others: I believe it would pose them very much to give a satisfying Answer. Is it because the persons from whom they thus separate themselves, are irreligious, wicked men? Men who are Christians onely in forme, and whose conversation carries nothing but evill example and pollution with it? If I should grant this to be true, and should allow them to be out-right what they call themselves, The Elect, and Godly, and Holy ones of the earth; and other men to be outright what they call them, The Reprobate, the wicked, the ungodly and prophane, yet is not this warrant enough to divide or separate themselves from them. Nor are they competent Judges of this, but God only, who by the mouth of his Son, hath told us in the Parable, that the wheat and corne is not to be separated from the chaffe and tares when we list, but that both are to grow together till the great harvest of the world. Till then 'tis a piece of the building of it, that there bee a commixture of good and bad.

Besides, let me put this Christian *Dilemma* to them: either the persons from whom they divide themselves are holy or unholy: If they be holy, they are not to separate themselves from them, because they are like themselves; If they be unholy, they are in charity to converse with them, that they may reforme and make them better.

better. Did not our Saviour Christ (and certainely his example is too great to be refused) usually converse with Publicans and sinners? Did he forsake the Table, because a Pharisee made the Feast? Or did he refuse a perfume, because a harlot powred it on his head? Or did he refuse to goe up into the Temple, because buyers and sellers were there, men who had turned it into a den of Theeves? Certainely my Brethren, we may, like Christ, keep company with Harlots, and Hypocrites, and Publicans and Sinners, and yet retaine our innocence. 'Tis a weake excuse to say, I will never consort my selfe with a swearer, lest I learne to blaspheme: Or, I will utterly renounce all familiarity and acquaintance with such and such an Adulterer, or with such and such a Drunkard, lest I learne to commit Fornication from the one, or Intemperance from the other. In all such conversations, we are to imitate the Sun, who shines into the foulest puddles, and yet returnes from thence with a pure untainted Ray. If mens vices then, and corruptions, bee not a sufficient cause to warrant a separation, what else can be? Is it the place of meeting, or Church, or the things done there, which hath made them shun our ordinary Congregations? Yes, say some, we have held it very unlawfull (as we conceive) to assemble in such a place, where we have seen Altars, and Windowes worshipped, superstitious garments worne, and have heard the more superstitious Common-Prayer Booke read, that great bolster to slothfull Ministers, and twin-brother to the Mass, and Liturgie of *Rome*.

Were this Charge true, (a very heavy one, I confess) had there been any among us so unreasonably stupid, as to spend their devotion on a pane of glass, or pay worship to the dumb sensless creature of the Painter, or adore the Communion-Table, the wooden issue of the Axe and Carpenter, (as I think there were none) had there (I say) been very Idolaters among us, yet unlesse they would have compelled them to be Idolaters too, I (after all the impartiall Objections which my weake understanding can frame) can see no reason why they should not communicate with them in other things wherein they were no Idolaters. I am sure, if S. *Paul* had not kept company with Idolaters, we to this day (for ought I know) had remained Infidels.

My Brethren, deceive not your selves with a fallacy, which every child is able to discover. If such superstitions had been publikely

ly practiſed among us, it is not neceſſary that every one that is a ſpectator to anothers mans ſin, ſhould preſently be an offender. Nor are all offences ſo like the Peſtilence, that he that comes within the breath and ayre of them, muſt needs depart infected. Thou ſeeſt one, out of a blind zeale, pay reverence to a picture, he hath the more to anſwer for. But why doſt thou, out of a zeale altogether as blind, thinke thy ſelfe ſo intereſted in his errour, as to thinke thy ſelf a partaker of his fault, unleſs thou excommunicate thy ſelfe from his converſation.

Againe, tell me thou, who calleſt Separation ſecurity; what ſeeſt thou in a Surplice, or heareſt in the Common-Prayer Booke, which ſhould make thee forbeare the Congregation where theſe are retained? Is it the web, or matter, or colour, or faſhion of the garment, or is it the frame or forme, or indevotion of the Book which offends thee? Or art thou troubled becauſe they have both beene borrowed from the Church of *Rome?* That indeed is the great argument of exception; which under the ſtile of Popery, hath almoſt turned Religion it ſelfe out of the Church. But, then, it is ſo weake, ſo accidentall, ſo vulgar an Argument, an Argument ſo fit for none to urge but ſilly women, with whom the firſt impreſſion of things alwaies takes ſtrongleſt, that I muſt ſay in replie to it, That by the ſame reaſon, that thou poore, tender-conſcienc'd man, (who art not yet paſt milke, or the food of infants in the Church) makeſt ſuch an innocent, decent veſture as Surplices, unlawfull, becauſe Papiſts weare them, thou mayeſt make eating and drinking unlawfull, becauſe Papiſts dine and ſup. The ſubject is not high or noble enough to deſerve a more ſerious confutation. That therefore, which I ſhall ſay by way of Repetition, is onely this: If to weare or do, whatever Papiſts weare or doe be unlawfull, as it will preſently concerne us all to throw off our garments and turne *Adamites*, ſo it will very neerely concern us too, to lay aſide our Tables, and betake our ſelves to faſting, as the ready way to famine. Then to reject the Common-Prayer Book, becauſe ſome of the Prayers in it reſemble the Prayers in the Romiſh Liturgie, is as unreaſonable, as if thou ſhouldſt make piety and devotion in generall unlawfull, becauſe Papiſts ſay their Prayers. And ſo, in oppoſition to whatever they do, ſhouldſt thinke thou art to turne Athieſt, becauſe moſt in that Church do confeſs there is a God.

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The time wil not give me leave to ſay much in the defence of that excellent Book; Or, if I ſhould, tis in any thing, I preſume, which can fall from my imperfect mouth, which wil be able to recover the uſe of it back again into this Church. Yet thus much, out of the juſt ſenſe, and apprehenſion which I have of the wiſedome, as well as piety, and devotion of it, I ſhall adventure to ſay. That I cannot think, that ever any Chriſtian Church, ſince the time that that name firſt came into the world, had a publique forme of Gods Worſhip, more Primitively pure, more Religiouſly grave, and more agreeable in all points to the Scripture, then that is.

To which I ſhall only add this one praiſe of it more, that there is not any Ancient, Claſſically condemned Hereſie, to be found in the Records of Councells, Church-Hiſtories, or the Confutations of Fathers, which is not by ſome clauſe or other in that moſt Orthodox Book excluded.

Here, then, if there be any in this Aſſembly of that il-perſwaded mind, that he would not at this preſent make one of the Congregation, if the Common-prayers were read, let me once more ask him, what that great Antipathie between him, and that admirable Book is, which ſhould make them quarrel one another out of the Church: Is it becauſe it preſcribes a Ring in marriage, or a Croſs in Baptiſme? over-ſcrupulous man! who would'ſt rather chooſe to make a rent and ſchiſme, and diviſion in the Church, then be ſpectatour to th ngs ſo harmleſs, and indifferent. But thy weak Conſcience is wounded. Weak, indeed, when a piece of marriage-Gold, or a little water ſprinkled in the ſigne, and figure of a croſs, the Type, and Emblem of thy Chriſtianity, ſhall drive thee from the Church. I muſt confeſs to you freely, if ſuch things, as the veneration of images, or adorations of Altars, or ſacrifices for the dead, or the worſhiping of the Hoſte, or the Maſs-book, with all the unſignificant *Ave Maryes*, and ſuperſtitious prayers, which uſe to trauell round the Circle of a numerous ſet of Beads, had been eſtabliſht among us by publique Authority; And had been enforced upon the practice, and Conſciences of men, and no Liberty of perſon, or freedome of eſtates allow'd them, unleſs they would conform to the preſent Golden Calf of ſuperſtition ſet up before them, a ſeparation had not only been allowable, but neceſſary.

We would have offended God very much to be partakers of ſuch droſs. And our beſt Anſwer would have been the Anſwer of the Three Children, when the King would have had them fall down to
3.16. the huge image, and *Coloſſus* which he had ſet up, *O King, we are not carefull to obſerve thee in this matter.* But where no ſuch things were enjoyned, where every one was left to the full uſe and exerciſe of his Chriſtian liberty, where nothing was blameable among us, but the ridiculous, over-acted poſtures and geſtures of ſome few buſie, fantaſticall men, who'e Popery lay in makeing diſcreet men laugh, to ſee them ſo artificially devout, and ſo affectedly ceremonious, to divide, and ſeparate, or to give us over for a loſt Church, becauſe the Pſalmes of *David*, after his own Muſicall way, uſed to be ſung to an Organ; As innocently, certainly, as if they had been tuned through his own loud Cymball, or had more ſoftly been ſung, and vowell'd to his Harpe: Or to renounce our ſolemne Aſſemblies, for ſuch ſleight, indifferent things, as a piece of holy ſtory in a glaſs window, or becauſe the Miniſter wears white, or becauſe marryed people come together by a Ring, or becauſe the Lords Prayer is more then once repeated, is not only Schiſme, and I may ſafely ſay, Schiſme upon ſcandall taken, not giuen, but tis directly contrary to S *Pauls* advice, here in this Text; who is ſo far from tolerating any ſuch needleſs diviſions, and ſeparations of preſences and bodies, that he will not allow in the ſame Church and Congregation the leaſt diſſent or diviſion of minds; But makes it the leaſt part of his Petition to his diſagreeing *Corinthians*, that they would not only meet together in the ſame place of Gods Wotſhip, but that they would be *perfectly joyned together in the ſame mind, and in the ſame judg-ment*, which is the laſt part of the Text. To which I ſhall only adde ſome brief Application of ſome things in this Sermon to you my hearers, and ſo commend you to God.

5. ty of minds

Twas well ſaid of one of the Philoſophers, (which ſaying of his hath ſince almoſt grown into a Prouerb of truth) *Nihil eſt in Intellectu, quod non fuit prius in ſenſu*; That there is nothing in the underſtanding, or mind within, which was not firſt in the ſenſe without. Tis as great, and meaſured a Truth, that there is nothing in our ſpeech, or words, or actions without, which was not firſt in our mind, or wil, or affections within. For what our Saviour Chriſt

ſaid,

ſaid, that *Out of the heart proceed evill thoughts, murthers, adulteries, theſts, falſe witneſs, blaſphemies*, and the like; to every one of which ſins without, belongs ſome ſecret, inviſible ſpring within. As, I ſay, to every Adultery without, belongs ſome hidden luſt within; and the uncleanneſſe of the body is but the foul iſſue, and off-ſpring of the ſoul; And as to every murther without, belongs ſome ſecret envy, or hatred, or thirſt of revenge within; and the rancour of the heart only clothes it ſelf in the violence and bloud-ſhed of the hand: ſo we may ſay of our Diviſions, and Diſagreements too. All thoſe odious words, and names of mutuall infamy and reproach; all thoſe perverſe croſſings, and thwartings, and contradictions of ſpeech; all this duell, and skirmiſh, and quarrelſomeneſs of language; Laſtly, all this ſhunning and lothing of one anothers company; all this ſeparation, and denyall of communion, which we ſo ordinarily ſee exerciſed, and practiced without, are but ſo many unchriſtian behaviours, which take their originall and birth from as unchriſtian grudges, and prejudices, and jealouſies, and miſ-apprehenſions within. Never man yet diſſented from another in ſpeech, but he firſt diſſented from him in opinion: And never man yet ſeparated from another in communion, but he firſt ſeparated from him in affection and will. To remove, therefore, the root and ſpring of all diſagreements, as well as the current and ſtream; and to beget a peace, and concord, and reconciliation without, Saint *Paul*, like a skilfull Artiſt, who reſerves the hardeſt part for the laſt, proceeds from mens words and actions, to their opinions and thoughts: and like thoſe who ſet Watches, and Clocks, where the Hand upon the Dyall without, cannot move regularly, unleſs the weights and ſprings which guide it, move orderly within; the better to make us go all alike, and ſtrike the ſame time, he endeavors to ſetle and compoſe thoſe inward wheels, by which our words and behaviors without, are to be ruled and governed. Mat. 15. 19

The thing then for which he here ſo earneſtly Petitions, is Unity, and Agreement, and Conſent of minds. Which, in plain terms, is to exhort us, that as we are all men of one and the ſame reaſonable kind, formed and created like one another in the ſhape and figure of our body, ſo that we would approve our ſelves to be men of one and the ſame reaſonable kinde, in the Muſique and

Harmony of our ſouls too. Which would then come to paſs, if every one of us would by the impartiall ſearch, and examination of his own mind, diſlodg thoſe miſts and clouds of errour, which blind him towards himſelf, and benight him towards others. Or, if he cannot do this by the ſtrength and diligence of his own naturall Forces, that he would have recourſe to thoſe who are moſt able to pluck this beam out of his eye; and whoſe work and buſineſs it is ſo to apply their Cures, as by propoſing that one, conſtant, immutable, eternall, Divine Truth to his mind, in which tis poſſible for all minds well enlightned to concenter and agree, by degrees to reduce him from his blindneſs and errour, and to make him not only ſpeak, but conceive, and think the ſame things with him that taught him.

It was wel ſaid of him, who compared our minds to Looking-glaſſes, or Mirrours; For certainly if we could but keep them open, and unclouded, they carry this property of Mirrours with them, not only to return the images, and ſhapes, and truths of things, which paſs before them as they are; but all minds in a clearer, or leſs clear degree, have a capacity to receive into them the truth of the ſame things alike. As a thouſand Glaſſes, if they be true, ſucceſſively lookt in, wil ſhew us the ſame faces: But then, as Glaſſes, if they be falſe, wil caſt falſe reſemblances; or if they be diſcoloured, wil transform all things which flow into them into their own die: So tis with us. I know not how it comes to paſs, or whether I may aſcribe the fault to Education, or Cuſtome, or to our parents, or to our Affections, too much knit, and wedded to the Religion, or Doctrin, or Opinion, or Teacher, which moſt complyes with our Fancies; but there are certain ill-cut, falſe-reporting minds, which look upon men, and things, in another ſize and figure then they are. Other minds there are ſtained and died (as it were) with certain weak prejudices, and corrupt opinions; through which, as through ſo many deceiving colours, they diſcern no truths which wear not that hue. As he that looks through a green Glaſs, takes all things for green; and he that looks through a blew Glaſs, takes all things for azure. And this was the very caſe of theſe *Corinthians* here in the Text. They firſt addicted themſelves over-partially to ſeverall Teachers; and from their ſeverall Teachers, took in ſeverall apprehenſions, as they pleaſed to like or affect him above others, whoſe Diſciples they

they called themſelves. Some, though they did not well underſtand what they held, reſolved (without any examination what they were) to be only of Saint *Pauls* opinions: Others reſolved to hold only what had been taught them by *Apollos*: Others reſolved to hold only what had been preacht by S. *Peter*. All which three taught and preacht one and the ſame Goſpell; yet that Goſpel was not alike entertained by all hearers. Whilſt ſome diſliked it in S. *Paul*, becauſe (as himſelf complains) he was of an humble preſence, and of an ungrateful utterance. Others diſlike it, perhaps, in the mouth of *Apollos*, becauſe it came Rhetorically from him, and he was guilty of that unedifying crime, forſooth, of being eloquent in the Pulpit. Others perhaps entertain'd it coldly from S. *Peter*, becauſe he had not been bred up in the School of *Demoſthenes*, nor taſted of the finer Arts and educations of *Greece*. 2 Cor. 10.

In ſhort, one and the ſame ſaving Truth, for want of a little right judgment in the Hearers to compare it, comming from ſeveral mouths, paſt into divers opinions firſt; and then theſe opinions broke forth into divers factions. And is not this, my Brethren, our very caſe? Do but conſider the preſent diſtempers of our poor, divided Kingdome; and, pray, what hath been the true root and ſpring of ſo much variance, and hatred, and heart-burning among us? what hath crumbled us aſunder, and turn'd one of the pureſt, and moſt flouriſhing Churches of the world, into a heap of Hereſies and confuſion? Hath it not been the very word of God it ſelf? In which all minds, I confeſs, ſhould agree, and which ſhould be the rule to compoſe all our ſtrifes; and before whoſe deciſions the greateſt Scholars Diſputes, and the meaneſt mans Doubts, ſhould fall down, and mutually imbrace, and kiſs each other. How comes it then to paſs, that Religion, which was ordained by God to be the oyl to cure our wounds, ſhould prove only the oyl to feed, and nouriſh our combuſtions? Whence is it, that the Scripture, that Sword of the Spirit, ſhould prove to us only Μαχαιρα δισστομος, a two-edged ſword, and that no other uſe ſhould be made of it by us, but only to be the weapon of our Conflicts, by committing the edges, and making them enter duell, and combat with each other? Truly, my bretheren, all the reaſon that I can give you for this, is, That ſome (perhaps wel minded people, but not of underſtandings either ſtrong, or learned enough

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to reach the true ſenſe and meaning of ſome places) have ſtept beyond their meaſure; and have preſumed to interpret more then they have well underſtood. Others, of a more modeſt, but credulous compoſition, have thought that only to be the right meaning of the Word of God, which they have heard from the mouth of the Preacher which they moſt affect. Others, of a more dangerous policy, finding that the Scripture rightly expounded would extreamly make againſt the plot of their dark proceedings, and that the holy Ghoſt cannot be bribed to finde Texts to make covetouſneſs, ſedition, or the ſlaughter of their Brethren, or Rebellion againſt their Prince, lawfull; have, with ſome formall helps of piety, and zeal, put to their expoſitions, made the Scripture ſpeak only thoſe plauſible untruthes, which moſt complied with their ends, and the peoples Fancy. Hence, the better to arrive to their Eſtates, by the diſtractions of their minds, they have dealt with them as cunning Anglers do with ſilly fiſhes, troubled the ſtream, and blinded them, and then made them their prey. The way to do this was to affront, and diſgrace, clamour down all the primitive Truths for ſome Generations taught among them; and to recall from their ſepulchres, and duſt, all the old, intricate, long ſince buried Opinions, which were the madneſſe of their own times, and the Civill Warre of ours. With which opinions they have dealt, as the Witch of *Endor* dealt with her Familiar, raiſed them up to the people clothed in a long mantle, and ſpeaking to them in the ſhape and voyce of a Prophet. Hence come thoſe ſeverall acceptions, and interpretations among you, even in your ordinary diſcourſes, of one and the ſame plaine, but ſiniſterly underſtood places of Scripture. One, following the practice of all the pureſt ages of the Church, thinkes the Sacrament of Baptiſme is to be adminiſtred to Infants. Others, (who would certainly be a ſtrange ſight to the Congregation, if they ſhould appear the ſecond time at the Font) of late are taught to thinke that none are to be baptized, but ſuch as are old enough to be their owne Godfathers, and can enter into Covenant with God, and promiſe for themſelves. Some, becauſe it hath beene called a binding of the ſpirit, to fetter their devotions in a ſet forme of Prayer, have baniſht that Prayer, which Chriſt preſcribed to his Apoſtles, out of

their

their Cloſets, as well as Temples. Others, of as rectified a piety, think no Prayer ſo likely to finde acceptance with God, as that which was conceived, and put into forme by his Sonne. I ſhould tire your patience too much to give you an exact Catalogue of all the rotten opinions which at this preſent ſwarm among us. One who hath computed the Hereſies, which have ſprung up in this Kingdome within theſe five years, ſayes, they have doubled the number of thoſe which were in Saint *Auſtins* time; and then they were very neer fourſcore. One is a *Chiliaſt*, and holds the perſonall Reigne of Chriſt upon Earth. Another is a *Corporealiſt*, and holds the death of the Soul with the Body. Nay, as 'tis ſaid in *Africke*, a Lyon will couple with a Tyger, from whence will ſpring a Libbard; ſo certain ſtrange, unheard-of, double-ſex't Hereſies are ſprung up among us: not able to underſtand what he would hold himſelfe. You ſhall have an *Arrian* and *Sabellian* lodged together in the ſame perſon. Nay, (which is yet worſe) whatever *Celſus* ſpoke in ſcorn, and *Origen* in vindication of our Redeemer, Chriſt and his Mother, hath of late trodden the Stage again, and appeared to diſturbe the World. One (I tremble to ſpeak it) hath called the Virgin *Maryes* chaſtity into queſtion; And others have ſpoken of the Saviour of the World ſo ſuſpiciouſly as if he had been a thing, of a ſtoln, unlawfull Birth. In ſhort, there want only ſome of thoſe *Munſter* men among us, of whom *Sleydan* writes, where one calleth himſelfe *God the Father*, another *God the Sonne*, A third Paraclete, or *God the holy Ghoſt*, to make our Babel and confuſion of wilde opinions at the height. In this miſerable diſtraction, then, where Hereſie, and Errour, hath almoſt eaten up the true Religion; And where all the light of the Goſpel, which ſhines among us, is but like that imperfect light at the Creation, which ſhined before the Sunne was placed in the firmament; A light creeping forth of a dark Chaos and blind maſſe, and ſtrife full heape of jarring Elements: In this thick fogge of ſtrange Doctrines, I ſay, which hath condenſt it ſelfe into a cloud, which hath almoſt overſpread this whole Kingdome, from which Truth ſeemes to have taken flight, and made way for *Ignorance* to ſtile it ſelfe once more *the Mother of devotion*, what way is there left to reconcile our minds, or to beget one right knowledge, and underſtanding of the wayes of God among us? Truly,

I know none but that which Saint *Paul* here preſcribes in the Text; which is, that we endeavour as near as we can, to be *of one mind, and of one judgment.*

But how ſhall this be brought to paſs, unleſs all judgments were alike clear, and unbiaſſed? Or, unleſs, laying apart all partiality, and affection to their own ſide, and all prejudice, and hatred againſt thoſe from whom they differ, men would ſubmit themſelves to him, who is beſt able to inſtruct them; Or who can bring with him the moſt ſaving Truths into the Pulpit? Beſides, (may ſome one ſay) if people ſhould bring minds prepared to entertain the Truth, where is that inſtructor ſo infallible, or ſo opinionated of the ſtrength of his own gifts and knowledg, that another pretending to the ſame Truth, may not challenge to himſelf the like infallibility? who ſhall be the Judg of Controverſies? or who ſhall preſent Truth to us with ſuch known marks and notes about it, that as ſoon as tis preſented, every congregation (of what mean capacities ſoever) ſhall preſently acknowledg, and entertain it? Wil you, Sir, who have all this while thus bemoaningly pitied our diviſions? we are bound to thank you for your charity to us; and ſhould be deſirous enough to imbrace a truth of your deſcription. But you are a Scholar, whoſe parts and abilities lye in the humane modell, and building of your own ſecular ſtudies. We are therefore bid to doubt very much, whether you have the Spirit; and are told by ſome who profeſs themſelves inſpired, that all your Readings, and Studyings, and tyrings of your ſelf over a difficult piece of Scripture, at midnight perhaps, when all others ſleep, by a lone, ſolitary, dumb candle, are but ſo many labours in vain, Since tis impoſſible for any to underſtand the Scripture aright, but ſuch only who have it revealed to them by the ſame holy Spirit that wrote it.

My Brethren, what ſhall I ſay to you? Modeſty, and the knowledg I have of my own imperfections, wil not allow me to ſay peremptorily, that I have the Spirit of God. Or if I could diſtinguiſh his ſecret influences and aſſiſtances from the operations of my own ſoul, or could certainly ſay I have him, (which S, *Paul* himſelf durſt not ſay definitively) yet 'twould not become me ſo to confine him to my frail, narrow parts, as to deny him to all others more learned then my ſelf.

For

For the ſetling therefore, and compoſing of your divided minds, I will not take upon me to be the Judge of Controverſies, but you your ſelves ſhall be. Onely the better to enable you to peforme this charitable office to your ſelves, and for your better direction how not to be out in your judgement, as a ſure clue to guide you through the perplext windings of that labyrinth into which ſome of you are faine, ſo faine, that they ſeem to me quite loſt in a wood of miſtakes, where every path is a guide, and every guide is an error, give me leave to commend to you that ſeaſonable advice of Saint *John*, which he delivers in the fourth Chapter of his firſt Epiſtle, at the firſt verſe, where (as if he had prophecyed of our times) he ſayes, *Beloved, beleeve not every ſpirit, but try the ſpirits whether they be of God: becauſe many falſe Prophets are gone out into the world*. In which words; you have two of the beſt Rules aſſigned you to go by, that can poſſibly be preſcribed for the ſettlement of minds.

Firſt, be not too credulous; Doe not preſently beleeve every man that ſayes he hath the Spirit; nor ſuffer your ſelves to be toſt and carried about with every wind of doctrine: For that is not the way to be all of one, but of as many ſeverall minds as the art or cunning of ſeverall Teachers ſhall pleaſe to work upon you. I am perſwaded this eaſineſſe of belief, this credulity, or (as the Apoſtle calls it) this admiration, this overvaluing of ſome mens perſons, hath been one of the great parents of our preſent diſſentions: whilſt ſome weak, but yet well-minded people, building their judgment meerly upon the outward appearances of men, have miſtaken the zeal and ſtrict life of their Preacher for his ſufficiency. And taking their Logicke from the preciſeneſſe of his behaviour, have framed theſe charitable, but falſe concluſions to themſelves: He is a man of a compoſed countenance, of a reſerved ſpeech, of a grave carriage, and of a devout elocution, therefore ſurely he is a holy man. And becauſe he is a holy man, therefore whatever hee ſaies, ſhall be to us Oracle; as coming from the mouth of one, ſo much in the favour of God, that it is impoſſible he ſhould deceive us, or ſpeak that which is not right.

My Brethren, I have no deſigne or purpoſe to bring Holineſſe into contempt; nor can I bee ſo injurious to piety or a good life, where ever I find it, as to expoſe it to the ſcorne of the licentious;

by not giving it its due. I am so farre also from lending encouragement to the lives of vitious Teachers, (Teachers who are the shame of their Mother, and the scandall of their Flock) that I could wish that every Congregation in England were furnished with such an exemplary Minister, that his life as well as preaching, might be Sermon to the people. Nay, give me leave, I beseech you, to extend my charity yet one degree farther. I am so farre from disliking holinesse either in Preacher or people, that I wish we all made but one united Kingdome of Priests. Or, if you will have me expresse my selfe in the words of one of the holiest and meekest men of
Nb. 11.29. the earth, I could wish that *all the Lords People were Prophets*. But, then, you must give me leave to say too, That holinesse and strictnesse, and austerity of life, are no infallible signes that the Preacher may not erre. Nor hath God so annext the understanding of his Word to the unstudied, unlearned piety, or sober carriage of the Expounder, that he that is most zealous shall still bee most in the
2 Cor. 4.7. right. As long as that saying of S. *Paul* remaines upon record, That we hold this *treasure*, this knowledge of Gods Will, *in earthen vessells*; As long as the Preacher, how holy soever he be, is so much one of the people, as to dwell in a fraile, weake Tabernacle of clay; Lastly, as long as men are men, they will bee liable to mens infirmities. And as the learned scandalous Preacher may be sometimes in the right; so it is possible that the ignorant, zealous, holy Preacher may be often in the wrong. How to know this, and how to distinguish them, therefore, you are to make use of the next Rule prescribed to you by Saint *John*; that is, when you heare an Exposition, or a Sermon, or a new Doctrine preached to you, not rashly, without distinction or choice to consent to it, till you have past the impartiall sentence of a cleare judgement on it; compared and weighed Sermon with Sermon, and Preacher with Preacher; called every Doctrine, every Proofe, every confident Assertion to the touch-stone, and measured it by some plaine evident place of Scripture; and examined whether the Holy Ghost, or his owne vaine, popular ambition, have for that time inspired the speaker; or whether his Sermon have had some dissembled, secular end, or Gods glory for its marke. And this Saint *John* calls, *trying of the spirits*; which is then done, when (as I said before) you reduce what you heare spoken by the Preacher to the infallible Rule

of

of Truth, the Word of God; and make that, well considered, the scales to weigh his Doctrine in. Does hee preach charity, and banish strife from his Pulpit? Does he not flatter Vice, though he find it clothed in Purple, nor speak neglectfully of Vertue, though he finde it clothed in rags? Does he strive to plant the feare and love of God in his Auditory, the forgivenesse of their enemies, and pity towards the poore? Dares he arraigne a publique sinne, though never so fortunate? or speak in defence of afflicted Innocence, though over-borne by oppression? Dares he maintaine his Christian courage in Tyrannicall, doubtfull times? And dares he call prosperous Sedition, but a more successefull mischiefe? Lastly, does he preach such Christian Truths for which some holy men have died, and to which he himselfe would not be affraid to fall a sacrifice? This, this man is to be hearkned to; this man is fit to bee obeyed. And this man speaking the same things which God himselfe doth in the Scripture, (whatever his gifts of pleasing, or not pleasing sick, fastidious, delicate fancies be) is thus at least to be thought of, That though he speake not by the Spirit, (as a thing entailed upon him) yet, for that time, the Spirit speaks by him, which ought to be all one to you. On the contrary, does the Preachers Sanctity and Religion consist meerly in the devout composure of his looks and carriage? Does he strive to preach downe Learning, or does he call Study a humane folly? Does he choose his Text out of the Bible, and make the Sermon out of his Fancy? Does he reprove Adultery, but preach up discord? Is he passionate against Superstition, but milde and calme towards Sacriledge? Does hee inveigh and raile at Popery, and at the same time imitate the worst of Papists, Jesuits, urge Texts for the Rebellion of Subjects against their Prince, and quote Scripture for the deposing, and Butchery of Kings? Does hee startle at a dumb picture in a Church-window, and at the same time preach all good order and right Discipline out of the Church? Does an Oath provoke his zeale, yet does he count lying in the godly no sin? Lastly, does hee preach separation upon weake untemper'd grounds? Or does labour to divide the minds, which hee should strive to reconcile? Let him bring what demurenesse or composure of countenance he please into the Pulpit; Let him, if he please, joyne sanctity of deportment to earnestnesse of zeale; Let him never so devoutly bewaile the cala-

mities of his Country, which he hath helpt to make miſerable; Or let him weepe never ſo paſſionately over the Congregation, which he hath broken into factions; In ſhort, how ſeemingly holy, how preciſe, how unprophane ſoever his behaviour bee; though the Scripture doe ſo continually over-flow in his mouth, that hee will neither eat, nor drinke, nor ſpeake, nor ſcarce ſleep but in that phraſe, yet as long as he thus forgets his Charity, thus Preaches ſtrife, thus Diviſion, I ſhall ſo farre miſtruſt whether he have the Spirit, that I ſhall not doubt to reckon him in the number of thoſe *falſe Prophets* which S. *John* ſayes *are gone out into the world.*

The Concluſion then of this Sermon ſhall be this. Men and brethren, I have with all the ſincerity and plainneſſe which might benefit your ſoules, preacht Truth, and Concord, and mutuall Charity to you. I have alſo for ſome yeeres, not been ſo ſleepy an Obſerver, but that I have perceived ſome of you (who have thought your ſelves more Religious then the reſt) to be guilty of the (I might ſay Crime, but I will rather ſay of the) miſ-guided Zeale of theſe *Corinthians* here in my Text. There have been certaine Diviſions, and I know not what ſeparations among you. I have farther obſerved, that certaine falſe, cauſleſſe prejudices and aſperſions have been raiſed upon our Univerſity, which to the grief of this famous Nurſery of Gods Church at home, and the reproach of it abroad, are ſtill kept waking againſt us by ſome of you, as if Conſcience and Religion, as well as Learning and Gifts, had ſo far forſaken us, that all the Schools of the Prophets cannot afford you a ſet of able, vertuous men, fit to be the Lecturers to this ſoule-famiſht Pariſh. How we ſhould deſerve to be thus miſtaken by you, or why you ſhould under-value thoſe able Teachers which you have already, or refuſe to take your ſupply from ſo many Colledges which here ſtand preſent and ready to afford you choyce: or why you ſhould ſupplicate to the great Councell of this Kingdome, in pitty to your ſoules, to ſend you Godly Teachers, (which, perhaps, is but a well-meaning Petition from you, but certainly 'tis a great ſcandall, and Libell againſt us) I know not. But whatever the myſterious cauſe be, I am confident, that unleſſe they will ſleep over their infamy and reproach, it will alwayes be in the power of our deſpiſed Univerſity-Divines, to make it appeare

peare, even to thoſe whom you intend to petition, That this is but a zealous errour in yon: And that they are as able to edifie you, certainly, as he, whoſe occupation it was to repaire the old ſhooes of the Prophets. I ſhould ſhame ſome of you too much, who were the Diſciples of that Apoſtle, if I ſhould diſcribe him to you by a larger character.

Inſtead therefore of a farther vindication of the reproach throwne upon us, that which I ſhall ſay of more neere concernment to you, is this: If I have in the progreſſe of this Sermon, ript open any wounds among you, it hath not been with a purpoſe, to enlarge, or make them bleed, but to powre wine and Oyle into them, and to heale, and cloſe them up.

Next, If I have cleared any of your ſights, or inabled you at length to diſcerne, that the reaſon why the mote in your brothers eye ſeemed ſo big, was, becauſe an over-ſcrupulous zeale had placed a beame in your owne; and that in contributing to the ruine of one of the pureſt Religions in the world, the reaſon why you have ſwallowed ſo many monſtrous Camels, hath been, becauſe at firſt you made ſcruple, and ſtrained at gnats, I have what I intended: Which was to let you ſee, that to divide and ſeparate your ſelves from the communion of our Church, if it had been guilty of a mole or two, is as unreaſonable, as if you ſhould quarrell the Moon out of her Orb, or think her unworthy of the skies, becauſe ſhe wears a ſpot or two writ on a glorious ball of light.

Laſtly, if I have ſaid any thing in the reproof of diſcord, or the praiſe of charity, which may re-unite your minds, and make you all men of the ſame heart and beliefe, as well as of the ſame Citie and Corporation, I ſhall thinke I have done the work and buſineſſe of a juſt Divider of the Word of God towards you, and of a faithfull Servant and Steward towards my heavenly Maſter. Whoſe bleſſing of peace be upon you all, together with the grace of our Lord Jeſus Chriſt, and the fellowſhip of the Holy Ghoſt. To which glorious Trinity, be aſcribed all Honor, Praiſe, Dominion and Power, for ever. AMEN.

FINIS.

A SERMON AGAINST FALSE PROPHETS.

PREACHED
In St. *MARIES* CHVRCH
In *OXFORD*, ſhortly after the Surrender of that Garriſon.

By IASPER MAINE, *D. D.* and one of the Students of *Chriſt-Church*, OXON.

IER. 23. 16.

Thus ſaith the Lord of Hoſts, Hearken not unto the words of the Prophets that propheſie unto you; They make you vaine; they ſpeak a viſion of their owne heart, and not out of the mouth of the Lord.

Printed in the Yeare,
CIↃ IↃC XLVII.

Printed in the Year

A SERMON AGAINST FALSE PROPHETS.

EZEK. 22. 28.

Her Prophets have daubed them with untempered Morter, ſeeing vanity, and divining lyes unto them, ſaying, Thus ſaith the Lord God, when the Lord hath not ſpoken.

THE PREFACE.

THat which the beſt *Orator* ſaid of *Oratorie* put to the worſt uſe, *Nihil eſt tam horridum, tam inculcum, quod non ſplendeſcat oratione*, That there is nothing ſo deformed, or rude, which may not be made amiable by *Speech*, hath alwayes been verified of *Religion* too. No one thing hath, in all Ages, been more abuſed, to paint and diſguiſe foule *actions*. It hath been made the *Art* to cozen people with their owne *Devotions*, and to make them, in the meane time, think ſacredly of their

ſeducers. *Conſpiracies*, and *Inſurrections*, dreſt in theſe colours have been called *holy Aſſociations and Leagues*: And the *Ambitions*, to worke the more ſecurely on the credulity of the *ſimple*, have not onely preſented *evill* to them growing on the *Tree of Good*, but have proceeded thus much farther in the *fallacy*, that they have ſtill made *forbidden fruits* ſeem *pleaſant* to the *eye*. And the falſe *colours* under which they have ſeemed *pleaſant*, have alwayes been taken from *Religion*. Thus in theſe *Heathen States*, where they firſt made their owne *gods*, and then *worſhipt* them, never plot was hatcht to diſturbe the *Common-wealth*, but the writings of ſome *Sybill*, or other, were entitled to that *plot*; And never any *deſigne* was laid to deſtroy the *Roman Empire*, but ſome *Augur*, or *Prieſt* was taken in, whoſe part 't was, to make the *Entrailes*, and *Liver* of his *ſacrifice*, give credit to the *ambition* of the *deſigne*. And thus among the *Jewes*, ſome ambitious men, the better to gild over their proceedings, ſtill entitled *God* to them. Who, as if he had been one of thoſe Tutelar, changeable *Deities*, which uſed to be enticed, and called over from one ſide to another, they ſtill entertained the people, that they who moſt zealouſly pretended to him, had him moſt. And that however he be the *God* of *Order*, and *Juſtice*, & *Agreement* among men, yet in favour of his owne *Cauſe*, he would for a while be content to change his *nature*, and become the *God of Injuſtice*, *Diſorder*, and *Confuſion* too.

The better to worke this perſwaſion into the minds of the *Multitude*, their firſt piece of policy was to draw the *Prophets* into their *Faction*. This is expreſt to us in the 25. verſe of this Chapter. Where 'tis ſaid of *Jeruſalem*, *There is a conſpiracy of her Prophets, in the midſt thereof*. And truely, 'twas a Conſpiracy ſo unfit for *Prophets* that the reſemblance of it was never yet found in any but thoſe Men of a much unholier ſtile, of whom the Hiſtorian ſaies, *Eſt aliquod etiam inter Latrones & Sicarios fœdus*, that *Theeves* and *Robbers* hold League and friendſhip amongſt themſelves. For 'tis ſaid in the following words of that verſe, that 'twas a Conſpiracy *like the roaring of a Lion, ravening the prey*. A *Conſpiracy*, by which *they devoured Soules, and took to themſelves the Treaſure, and pretious things of the Land*. And becauſe pillage of this publick Nature, could hardly be gained without the Death, and Murther of the *Owners*, 'tis ſaid in the cloſe of that verſe, That *they*

made

made her many Widdows in the midſt thereof. To which if the Scripture had added theſe two *words* of pitty, the *Fatherleſſe* and *Orphane* too, nothing could have beene added to the calamity of the Deſcription.

Nor is there a much more favourable Character ſtuck by the *holy Ghoſt*, upon the *Prieſts* of thoſe times. For by that which is ſaid at the 26. verſe of this Chapter, (And 'tis well worth your marking) you may perceive that the *Diſorder* to which things were brought in the *State*, ſprung firſt from the *Diſorder*, to which things were brought in the *Church*. For 'tis there ſaid, That *The Prieſts had violated the Law*, and *prophaned the holy Things*; *That they did put no difference between the Holy, and Prophane, nor made any Diſtinction between the unclean, and the cleane.* In briefe, the Legall, well eſtabliſht *Service*, and *Worſhip* of God was at a kinde of looſe, and *Indifferency*. 'Twas referred to every mans *Fanſie*, to make to himſelf his own *Religion*. *Blemiſht*, and *unblemiſht Sacrifices* began to be ſacred alike. And the *Scripture* of another *Prophet*, became quite altered; He that *offered a Swine*, was thought as religious as he that *ſlew an Oxe*; And he that *cut off a Dogs neck*, was thought as liberall a *Sacrificer*, as he that brought a *Lambe* to the *Altar*.

Next, having taken the *Prophets*, and *Prieſts*, ſo far into their *plot*, as to mingle and confound the *Services* of the *Church*, they made it one part of their *policy*, more, to make them lend Reputation, to their proceedings in the *State*. This is plainly intimated to us, by that which is ſaid at the 27. verſe of this chapter, cohering with that which is ſaid in the words of my Text. For there mention is made of certaine *Princes*, or *Princes*, or *chiefe men*, who are there ſaid to be *like Wolves ravening the prey*; Yet there wanted not ſome *Prophets* (as you may gather from my Text) who preſented theſe *Wolves* to the people in *Sheeps cloathing*. 'Tis ſaid too that they had this property of *Wolves*, that *they tooke pleaſure to ſhed blood*; yet there wanted not *Prieſts*, who called *Blood* thus ſpilt *Sacrifice*. 'Tis ſaid too that they did ſhed *Blood that they might get to themſelves diſhoneſt Gain*; yet there wanted not *ſome*, who called even that *diſhoneſt gain*, *godlineſſe*. If you will have all this limbed to you in one ſhort *Draught* and *picture*, how cruell ſoever, & deſtructive to the common ſafety, the Projects, and proceedings of

ſome men powerfull in the *then State* of the *Jewes* were, there wanted not *Prophets* who *dawbed them with untempered Morter*; *ſeeing vanity, and divining lyes unto them, ſaying, thus ſaith the Lord God, when the Lord had not ſpoken.*

diviſion. Which words are a Hiſtory of the worſt *Times*, in the then worſt *State*. In which we have theſe conſiderable parts. 1. An irreligious *Compliance*, or rather *Colluſion*, of *Spirituall* men with *Lay*. Some there were, (as you have them deſcribed in the precedent verſe) whoſe deſigne 'twas, to make their *Countrey* their *Prey*; Others there were, whoſe part 'twas, to make them ſeem *Good patriots*, and *Protectors* of their *Countrey*. Some *deſtroyed Soules* in the way to their Ambitious *Ends*, Others made it their buſineſſe to put *Holy colours* on their *Slaughters*. Or if you will have me expreſs my ſelf in the Language of both Texts, ſome there were who did *Shed blood, that they might get to themſelves Diſhoneſt gaine*; And ſome *Prophets* there were, who to make their proceedings ſeem ſpecious, did put religious *pretences* to them, and with theſe *pretences* did *diſguiſe*, and *dawbe* them.

Next, we have here, the *Frailty*, and *Weakneſſe*, and *Deceiveable nature* of ſuch *pretences*. How plauſible ſoever they ſeemed to the deluded *vulgar*, and however they might a while, not onely ſerve to cover, and veile foule purpoſes, but to ſet them off with a Beauty, and Luſtre too, yet this could not be laſting. *Diſhoneſt projects* thus adorned were but ſo many *painted Ruines*. And therefore, the *Prophets*, who thus diſguiſed them, are here ſaid to *Dawbe them with untempered Morter*.

Thirdly, for the effecting of this, we have here a very ſtrange *abuſe* of their *Miniſtery* and *Function*, ſet downe to us in three *Expreſſions*, having every one of them ſomething of the *Forme*, but nothing of the *Reality* of a *Prophet* in them. Firſt, they are here ſaid to be *Seers*. But as for the things they ſaw, they were of that fooliſh empty nature, that the *Scripture* hath not vouchſafed to call them *Dreams*. We may call them viſions, perhaps; But ſuch as *Æneas* in *Virgil* ſaw among the *Shades*. So voyd of *Weight*, and *Body*, and *Subſtance*, ſo far from *Senſe* and *Reaſon*, as well as *Revelation*, that as the fitteſt word which could be found for them, they are here in this place called *Vanity*. Next, they are here ſaid to *Divine*, or *foretell*. But 'tis added withall, that they foretold not

Things,

Things, but *lyes*. As many *untruths* as *Prophecies* fell from them. And their *predictions* had onely thus much of *Divination* in them, that some time was required for men to prove them false; And to perceive, that, contrary to all true *predictions*, they would never come to passe. Lastly, (which was the *third*, and great *abuse* of their *office* and *function*) they were not afraid to entitle *God* to their *vanities* and *lies*. As often as they were pleased to deceive the people, he was cited, and quoted, as the *inspirer* of the *deceit*. And this bold, insolent sin was committed against the *holy Ghost*, that the vaine, foolish, groundlesse *conjectures* of the Prophets, were called his *Inspirations*: who, to make their falshoods take the stronglier, still uttered them in the holy, Propheticall stile of *Truths*, saying, *Thus saith the Lord God, when the Lord had not spoken*. All which contracted into a narrow room, the *Irreligious Compliance* of *Spirituall men* with *Lay*, the *weaknesse* of their *pretences*, the *abuse* of their *Calling*, by uttering their owne *vanities* for *inspirations*, and and their owne *Fictions* for *Truths*, together with the *injury* offered to *God*, by entitling *Him* to all this, shall be the *parts* on which I will build my future Discourse. In the ordering of which, I will begin with the *Compliance* or *Combination*. Some there were among the *Jews* (as you have them decyphered in the former verse) who did *shed blood, that they might get to themselves dishoneſt gain*; and some *false Prophets* there were, who, to goe *sharers* in that *gaine*, by the *Holinesse* of their *Function*, did disguise and *dawbe* them.

1: The comp ance.

It was well said of a vertuous man in the praise of Vertue, *Si oculis cerneretur*, If it could be seen, or could be put into Limbes or Colours, nothing would more inflame, or ravish the Beholders. And hee had spoken as well in the dispraise of *Vice*, had hee said, *Si oculis cerneretur*, if it could be made visible, or put into Colours, nothing would appeare more deformed, or loathsome. To speake of it, as it deserves, there is so little *Beauty* or *Amiablenesse* in *Dishoneſt actions*, that to be disliked, and abhorred, it hath alwayes been sufficient for them to be understood. None but the *Father* of *mischiefe*, ever loved *mischief* for it selfe: And none but the *Children* of such a *parent*, have found out a comlinesse of *Evill*, meerely as 'tis *Evill*. Of all other men, who have not quite lost their *Reason* with their *Innocence*, and over whose understandings darknesse

darkneſſe and Errour have not ſo prevailed, as to preſent *vice* and *vertue* to them, as one and the ſame thing, the ſaying of the *Poet* hath alwayes held true, *Exemplo quodcunq; malo committitur ipſi diſplicet Authori*; Bad actions are ſo farre from pleaſing others, that they never yet pleaſed themſelves. Nor can I perſwade my ſelfe, that ever any man could ſo ſtifle his *Conſcience*, or force it, (like ſome compelled to enter into unwilling contracts) to imbrace a *Bad Deſigne*, but he for that time divided himſelfe between his *Deſigne*, and his *Hatred*. And the advantages which have accompanyed the fouleneſſe of the Enterprize, have never been ſo great, but that the poore coſened offendor, at the ſame time ſinned, and lothed himſelfe. But then, as ſome either borne, or grown deformed, have found out certain arts to hide their deformities; As ſome I ſay, of a withered, ill-ſhaped complexion, have by the help of their pencill, turned *yellow* into *red*, and *pale* into *white*, and by the ſame help, have placed a *Roſe* there, where there was before a *decay*; And ſo have beſtowed, not onely an *Artificiall beauty*, but an *Artificiall youth* upon themſelves, and in this borrowed ſhape have flattered themſelves, and deceived others: So few bad men have been ſo unpolitick, not to hide their *Deformities* by *painting* too. And this cunning uſe hath beene made of *vertue*, that it hath alwayes been made the colour, to adorn, and cover *vice*. A thing the more eaſie to be effected, becauſe that ſaying of the Philoſpher hath alwayes been true, *Difficile eſt Nonnulla vitia â virtutibus ſecernere, adeò prudentes nonnunquam fallunt*, ſome *vices* are ſo neerely allyed to ſome *vertues*, that wiſe men have frequently miſtaken them for *Twins*. Thus *Raſhneſſe* with *ſucceſſe* hath paſt for *valour*, and *cowardice* with diſcretion hath paſt for *Counſell*. *Covetouſneſſe* well order'd hath worne the ſhape of *Thrift*; and *Ryot* hath put on the name of *Magnificence*, and a *large minde*. But where this *Neighbourhood* between *good* and *evill* is not, other helps have been taken in; And a *vertue* of one ſhape hath been made to diſguiſe the fowlenеſſe of a *vice* of another. Thus among the *Jewes* in our *Saviour Chriſts* time, there were ſome who tithed *Mint*, that they might withhold *Juſtice*, and ſome paid *Cuxmin*, that they might keep back the weightier matters of the Law. Some made *long prayers*, that they might devoure *Widdowes Houſes*, and ſome were *broad Phylacteries* that they might ſwallow *Orphans goods*.

And

And thus in this *Prophet Ezechiels* time, ſome diſguiſed their *rapine* by a *Prophet*, and their *ſlaughters* by a *Prieſt*; their *Covetouſneſſe* by a *Seer*, and their *Oppreſſions* by a *Man* of *God*. Between whom the parts were ſo ſpeciouſly carried, that, as if there had been no ſuch *things* in *Nature*, as *Right* or *Wrong*, *Juſtice* or *Injuſtice*, but only as *Holy men* would pleaſe to call them, the *one* devoured the *prey*, the *other* gave a *Bleſſing* to it; The *one* deſtroyed *Soules*, the *other* excuſed the *Murder*; The one committed *Sacrilege*, the *other* made it *plauſible*. Or if you will have me expreſſe my ſelfe to the true Hiſtoricall Importance of this Text, the *one grinded* the *faces* of the *poore*, and polluted themſelves both with private and and publique *Oppreſſions*; the *other* gilded, and palliated, and veyled, and dawbed them. *Complanabant*, ſayes one, *Gypſabant*, ſayes another *Tranſlation*. The *Prophets* did *ſmooth*, and *ſleek*, and put a *faire cruſt* upon them. The words are diverſe, but have all one Senſe.

For firſt, whether we expreſſe their palliation of Sinnes by *dawbing*, (which is the word here uſed by our *Engliſh Tranſlators*, and anſwers to Saint *Jeromes Obliniebant* in the *Latine*, and the *Septuagint* Ἀλείφοντες in the *Greeke*) 'tis a *Word* (if a learned *Interpreter*, well skill'd in the *Originall*, have not deceived me) taken from thoſe who deale in *Oyntments*. And the meaning of the place is, That as ſome, skill'd in ſuch *Confections*, have at times been hired to diſguiſe *deadly Receipts* in *fragrant Smels*, and ſo have conveyed *poiſon* in a *perfume*, and cloathed *Death* in the *Breath* and *Ayre* of an *Odoriferous Sent*; ſo theſe *Prophets* here in the Text, among the other *Abuſes* of their *Calling*, changed one of *Solomons* beſt *Proverbs* into one of the worſt *Compliances*: Which was, that by the *Opinion* of their *Holineſſe* among the *people*, they made ſome mens *Ill names* paſſe, as 'tis there ſaid of *Good, like a pretious Oyntment powred forth*. *Perfumes* and *Odours* were put upon *Ambition* and *Avarice*. And *Gods Lawes* were a while taught to forget their *ſtile*; And thoſe *Commandements* were made moſt to defend the men, who did moſt violate, tranſgreſſe, and break them. Or next, whether we uſe the word *ſleeke*, or *ſmooth*, 'tis a word taken from thoſe who uſe the poliſhing *toole*, or *file*. And the meaning of the place will be, That, as ſuch *Artificers* doe ordinarily *file* rude, rough, miſhapen matters, into decent *figures* and *formes*, and

by the Repetition of their inſtrument, and application of it artificially to the ſame place, doe raiſe a *Glaſſe* and *Luſtre* there, where there was before onely a *deformity* and *ſhade*; ſo theſe *Prophets* dealt with the *publick Sins* of their *times*. *Rapines*, and *Oppreſſions* were *filed*, and *poliſht*, into the ſofter names of *juſt levyes* and *ſupplyes*. *Murthers* alſo and *Bloud-ſheds*, together with the *Cries* of *Widdowes*, and *Teares* of *Orphans* were *ſmooth'd* and *glazed* into the milder appearances, perhaps, of publique *Utility* & *neceſſity* of *State*. In briefe, theſe *Prophets* here in the Text, dealt with ſome mens *vices*, as the *Philoſpher* would have us deale with our *Affections*, transformed and wrought them into *Ornaments*, and vertues. Or laſtly, whether we uſe the word *Gypſabant*, 'tis a word taken from thoſe who deale in playſter. And the meaning of the place will be, That as ſuch *Artificers*, by laying a new *Cruſt* upon old *Decayes*, doe many times make a falling *building* ſeem ſtrong, and to the certaine danger of the *dweller*, doe ſo veile, and cover aged *Walls*, as to diſguiſe *Rottenneſſe*, and make a *ruine* ſeem *habitable*; So theſe *Prophets* dealt with the ſinnes of their times. They whited *Sepulchers*, and adorned *Rottenneſſe*, and *putrefaction*. Wicked *deſignes* had a faire *cruſt* put upon them; And ruinous *projects* were ſupported with ſplendid, holy *Colours*. If you will have mee ſpeak more home to the minde of the Text, ſome ambitious men built *Houſes* on the *Sand*, and ſome flattering, ſervile *Prophets dawbed* them with weake, *untempered morter*. Which diſcovers to us the *frailty* and *unſoundneſſe* of all ſuch proceedings as are not built upon *Juſtice*, or *Truth*, thoſe two immoveable *Rocks* of the *Scripture*; And leads us on to the next part of the Text.

a: ne frailty of d deſignes.

For the clearer underſtanding and interpretation of which words, it will be neceſſary, that I once more briefely reconcile the ſeverall Tranſlations of them. That which we in Engliſh doe read *untempered morter*, a very Claſſicall Interpreter of the *Bible* reads thus: *Prophetæ ejus linebant eos inſulſo*, *Her Prophets have dawbed them* with a thing which is *inſipid*, or which hath no *ſalt* in it. From whence ſome have made this expoſition of the place. That though the thing with which theſe *Prophets* diſguiſed the foule *actions* of their times were *Holineſſe*, and *Religion*; and though it be true, that we may ſay of *Religion*, as *Chriſt* ſaid of the *Teachers* of it, that it is the *ſalt of the world*, yet this *ſalt* ſprinkled upon

for-

forbidden *enterprizes*, leaves off to be *salt*, and loseth its savour. To speak yet more plainly to you; *Holinesse* it selfe applyed to wicked *designes*, leaves off to be *Holinesse*. And they who put *sanctity* to that vile use, to serve onely as the *paint* to make the unlawfull *projects* of others seem faire, adde thus much guilt of their owne to the others, that they turne *Religion* it selfe into their *crime*. And I may confidently say, that they had beene much more innocent, if in such forbidden cases they had beene lesse holy.

Saint *Jerome* translates the words thus: *Prophetæ oblinie-bant eos absq; temperamento*, The Prophets *dawbed* them with a thing which would not piece, or unite, or make a *mixture*. From whence some have given this Interpretation of the place, That however religious *pretences* may be found out to mask irreligious *deeds*, and however *Holinesse* may be made the *vermilion* to *impiety*, yet there can never such a *mixture*, or *composition* passe between them, that it shall cease to be *Impiety*, because it hath piety joyned to it. But rather as *gilt* upon false *coine* makes it so much the more *counterfeit*; or as *Tinne* silver'd over is so much the more *Treason*, because 'tis *silver'd* over; and *Copper* so much the more deserves *hanging*, because it weares the *Kings Image*, and the *Inscription* on it is written in *golden Letters*: So 'tis with *bad actions* silver'd over with *Religion*; they are so farre from becomming *good*, that they double their *iniquity*, and become so much the more *counterfeit*. And as the *spirit* of *Delusion* is so much the more the *spirit* of *Delusion*, when hee transformes himselfe into an *Angel* of *Light*; so foule *projects* are never fouler, then when there is a *glory* and *lustre* put upon them. In all such disproportioned *Commixtures*, where the worse is sure to vitiate, and corrupt the better, we may not onely ask the Question, *What agreement* there can be betweene *light* and *darknesse*, or what fellowship *Christ* can have with *Belial*? but we may boldly pronounce, that *light* thus joyned with *darknesse*, loseth its rayes, and becomes *darknesse*. And that *Christ* thus joyned and matcht with *Belial*, degenerates into a *Deceiver*, and becomes *Belial* too.

The third and last translation of this place, (which our English Translators have followed) is that of *Vatablus*, who renders the words thus, *Prophetæ ejus linebant eos luto infirmo*, Her Prophets

(that is, the Prophets of Jeruſalem) have *dawbed* them with in-firme, *untempered morter*: That is, as *Dyonifius Carthuſianus*, very fully expounds the Metaphor, *Confirmabant eos in errore perſuaſionibus non ſolidis, ſed fucatis*: The Prophets confirmed them in their errors with *weake, untempered Reaſons*. All which ſeverall Interpretations doe agree in this one and the ſame undenyable ſenſe; That ſuch is the conſcious, guilty, unjuſtifiable nature of *ſinne*, ſo ſuſpicious and fearefull 'tis to be ſeen publiquely in its owne *ſhape*, that it not onely deales with all *ſinners*, as it did with the firſt *two*, upon a mutuall ſight, and diſcovery of themſelves, ſhewes them aſhamed, and *naked to one another*; but to cover and veyle their *nakedneſſe* and *ſhame*, ſends them to ſuch poore, fraile, unprofitable ſhelters, as *Buſhes*, and *Fig-leaves*: which though they ſhould grow in *Paradiſe* it ſelfe, or ſhould be gathered from the ſame *holy ground*, in which *Innocence*, and the *Tree* of *Life* were planted together, yet applyed to hide an *oppreſſion*, or pluckt to cover a *ſacrilege*, they will ſtill retaine the fading, tranſitory nature of *leaves*, which is to decay, and wither, between the hands of the Gatherer, and loſe their colour and freſhneſſe in the very laying on; and to every well rectified, religiouſly judging eye, inſtead of being a *veyle* to hide, will become one of the wayes to betray a *nakedneſſe*.

To ſpeake yet more plainly to you, and to lay it as home as I can to every one of your conſciences, who heare me this day; If the *deſigne* and *project* be unlawfull, and contrary to *Gods Commandements*, let there be a *Prophet* found to pronounce it *holy*, let there be a *Statiſt* found to pronounce it *convenient*, let *Reaſon* of *State* be joyned to *Religion*, and *publique utility* to *quotations of Scripture*; Laſtly, let it be adorned with all the *varniſhes* and *paintings* taken either from Policy or Chriſtianity, which may render it faire and amiable to the deluded *multitude*, yet ſuch is the deceiveable *nature* of ſuch *projects*, ſuch a *worme*, ſuch a *ſelfe deſtroyer* growes up with them, that, like *Jonas* Gourd, ſomething cleaves to their *root*, which makes their very *foundation* ruinous, and fatall to them. At beſt they are but painted *Tabernacles* of *clay*, or *palaces* built with *untempered morter*. The firſt diſcovery of their *hypocriſie* turnes them into *heaps*, and the fate of the *ſcarlet whore* in the *Revelation* befalls them, whoſe *filthineſſe* and *abominations* were no ſooner

ner opened and divulged, but she was dismembred, and torn in pieces by her owne *Idolaters* and *Lovers*.

Here then, if any expect that I should apply what hath beene said to our times, and that I should take the liberty of some of our *Moderne Prophets*, who have by their rude *Invectives* from the Pulpit made what ever *Names* are *High*, and *Great*, and *Sacred*, and *Venerable* among us, cheap, and vile, and odious in the eares of the people; If any, I say, expect that by way of parallell of one people with another, I should here audaciously undertake to show that what ever *Arts* were used to make bad projects seeme plausible, and holy in this Prophets time, have been practiced to make the like bad projects appeare plausible, and holy *now*; Or that in our times the like *Irreligious Compliance*, hath past between some *Spirituall men*, and *Lay*, to cast things into the present *Confusion*, I hope they will not take it ill, if I deceive their Expectation. For my owne part, as long as there is such a piece of Scripture as this, * *Diis non maledices, thou shalt not revile the Gods*, (that is, thou shalt not onely not defame them by lying, but shalt not speake all truthes of them which may turn to their Infamy, and reproach;) I shall alwayes observe it as a piece of obligatory *Religion*, not to *speak evill*, no not of *offending dignities*. Much lesse shall I adventure to shoot from this sacred place my owne ill-built *Jealousies*, and *Suspitions*, for *Realities* and *Truths*: Which if I should doe, 'twould certainly savour too much of his Spirit of *Detraction*, who having lost his *modesty*, as well as *Religion* & *Obedience*, to the *Scandall* and just *offence* of all loyall *Eares* here present, was not afraid to forget the other part of that *Text*, which saies, *Nec maledices principi in populo meo, Thou shalt not reproach the Ruler of my people*. * Exod.

Yet because so many strange *Prophets*, of our wilde, licentious *times*, have preacht up almost five years *Commotion* for a *Holy war*; And because, in truth, no *warre* can be *Holy* whose *cause* is not justifiable; If I should grant them what they have proclaimed from so many *Pulpits*, that the *Cause* for which they have all this while, some of them, so zealously fought, as well as preacht, hath beene *Liberty* of *Conscience*; or, in other termes, for the *Reformation* of a corrupted, degenerated *Church*; Or to speak yet more like themselves, for the *Restitution* of the *Protestant Religion* growne *Popish*;

If I say, all this should be granted them, yet certainly, if *Scripture*, *Gospell Fathers*, *Schoolmen*, *Protestant Divines* of the most reverend, and sober *marke*, and *Reason* it selfe have not deceived mee, all *Sermons* which make *Religion*, how pure soever, to be a just *cause* of a *Warre*, doe but *dawb* the undertakers with *untempered Morter*.

For however it be an *Article* in the *Turkish Creed*, that they may propagate their *Law* by their *Speare*; yet for us who are *Christians*, to be of this *Mahumetane* perswasion, were to transfer a piece of the *Alcoran* into a piece of the *Gospell*. And to make *Christ* not onely the *Author* of all those *Massacres*, which from his time to ours, have worne that *Holy Impression*, but 'twere to make him over-litterally guilty of his owne saying, that he *came not to send peace, but a Sword into the World* For though it be to be granted, that nothing can more conduce to the future happinesse of men, then to be of the true *Religion*; yet I doe not finde that *Christ* hath given power to any to compell men to be *happy*; or commanded, that *force* should be used for the collation of such a *Benefit*. All the wayes more proportioned for the atchieving of such an *end*, hee hath in his *Gospel* prescribed, namely *preaching*, and *perswasion*, and *Holy example of life*. He bade his Apostles *goe*, *and teach all Nations*; not stir up one *Nation* against another, or divide *Kingdomes* against themselves, if they would not receive the *Gospell*. This had been plainly to joyne the *Sword* of the *flesh*, to the *Sword* of the *Spirit*. Which to save their *Lives*, and *Fortunes*, might perhaps, have made some *Hypocrites*, and *dissemblers* without, who would nevertheless, have remained *Pagans*, and *Infidels* within. In short, some things in the *Excellency*, and *Height* of the *Doctrines* of Christian *Religion* being no way *demonstrable* from *Humane principles*, but depending for the *credit*, and *evidence* of their *truth* upon the *Authority* of *Christs miracles*, conveyed along in *Tradition* and *Story*, cannot in a *naturall* way of *Argumentation* force *assent*. Since, as long as there is such a thing in men, as *liberty* of *understanding*, all *arguments*, even in a *Preaching*, and *perswasive* way, which carry not *necessity* of *demonstration* in their *Forehead*, may reasonably be rejected. Much lesse have I met with it in all my progresse of *Divinity* or *Philosophy*, convincingly maintained, that men upon every slight *disagreement*, or dissent in *Religion*,

gion, are to be whipt, or beaten into a *Conſent*; or that the *plunder* of mens *Eſtates* is a fit *medium* to beget a *Beleefe* or *perſwaſion* in their *Minds*.

Here then, ſhould I once more grant the charge of theſe *Prophets* to be true (a very heavy one I confeſſe) that the *Proteſtant Religion* among us, had very farre taken wing, and had almoſt reſigned its place in this *Iſland* to the *Romiſh Superſtition*. Nay, ſuppoſe (which is yet farre worſe) that a great, and conſiderable *part* of this *Kingdome*, had through the *Corruption* of the *times*, not onely relapſt from the *Proteſtant Religion* in particular, but from the *Chriſtian Faith* in generall; ſuppoſe, I ſay, (which is the worſt that can be ſuppoſed) that they who have ſo frequently of late been branded for *Papiſts*, had out-right turned *Infidels*, however in ſuch a caſe, that *Warre* which fights againſt the *Errours* of men thus loſt, and propoſeth to it ſelfe no other *end* but their *Repentance*, and *Converſion*, may to ſome perhaps, ſeem to weare the *Helmet* of their *Salvation*, and the *Army* which thus ſtrives to ſave men by the *ſword*, may to ſome ſeem an *Army* of *Apoſtles*, yet I doe not finde that to come into the *field* with an *armed Goſpel*, is the way choſen by *Chriſt* to make Proſelites. The Scripture indeed, tells us of ſome who took the *Kingdome* of *Heaven* by *violence*; But of any, who by *violence* may have it impoſed upon them, 'tis no where recorded. But alas, my Brethren, (if I may ſpeak freely to you in the *defence* of that defamed *Religion*, in which I was borne, and to which I ſhould account it one of the greateſt bleſſings that God can beſtow upon me, if I might, with the *Holy Fathers* of our *Reformation*, fall a *Sacrifice*) that which theſe men call *Idolatry*, and *Superſtition*, and by *names* yet more odious, was ſo farre from having ſhrined it ſelfe in our *Church*; So little of that *droſſe*, and *Ore*, and *tinne*, which hath lately filled our beſt Aſſemblies with ſo much *noyſe* and *Clamour*, was to be found among us, that with the ſame unfainedneſſe that I would confeſſe my ſinnes to God, and hope to obtaine pardon for them, I doe profeſſe, that I cannot thinke the *Sun*, in all his heavenly courſe, for ſo many yeares, beheld a *Church* more bleſt with *purity* of *Religion* for the *Doctrines* of it, or better eſtabliſht for the *Government*, and *Diſcipline* of it, then ours was. And therefore, if I were preſently to enter into *diſpute* with the greateſt *Patriarch* among theſe *Prophets*, who, even againſt the

Teſti-

Teſtimony of *ſenſe* it ſelfe, will yet perverſely ſtrive to prove that our *Church* ſtood in ſuch need of *Reformation*, that the *growing Superſtitions* of it could not poſſibly be *expiated* but by ſo much *Civill Warre*. I ſhould not doubt with modeſty enough to prove back again to him, that all ſuch weak, irrationall *Arguments* as have onely his *zeale* for their *Logick*, are not onely compoſed of *untempered Morter*; But that in *ſeeing* thoſe *ſpots* and *blemiſhes* in our *Church*, which no good Proteſtants elſe could ever ſee, 'twill be no unreaſonable inference to conclude him in the number of thoſe erroneous *Prophets* here in the Text. Who to the great *Scandall* and *abuſe* of their *Office*, and *Function*, did not onely palliate, and gild over the publique *ſins* of their *times*, but did it like *Prophets*, and *ſaw Vanity* too. Which is the next part of the Text; And is next to ſucceed in your attentions.

3. firſt abuſe eir functi-

If the *Philoſophers rule* be true, that *things* admit of *definitions* according to their *eſſences*, and that the nearer they approach to *nothing*, the nearer they draw to no *Deſcription*; to goe about to give you an exact *definition* of a *thing* impoſſible to be *defined*, or to endeavour to deſcribe a *thing* to you, which hath been ſo much diſputed whether it be a *thing*, were to be like thoſe Prophets here in the Text; firſt, to ſee *Vanity* my ſelfe, and then to perſwade you that there is a *Reality*, and *Subſtance* in it. Yet to let you ſee by the beſt *lights* I can, what is here meant by *Vanity*, I will joyne an *inſpired* to a *Heathen Philoſopher*. *Salomon*, (whoſe whole Book of *Eccleſiaſtes* is but a *Tract* of *Vanity*) as we may gather from the inſtances there ſet downe, places *vanity*, in *mutability*, and *change*. And becauſe all things of this lower world conſiſt in viciſſitude, & change (ſo farre, that as *Seneca* ſaid of *Rivers*, *Bis in idem flumen non deſcendimus*, we cannot ſtep twice into the ſame *ſtream*; ſo we may ſay of moſt *Sublunarie things*, whoſe very *beings* do ſo reſemble *ſtreams*, *ſic vix idem bis conſpiciamus*, that we can ſcarce behold ſome things twice) that *wiſeſt* among the *ſonnes* of *men*, whoſe *Philoſophy* was as ſpacious as there were *things* in *nature* to bee knowne, calls all *things* under the *Sunne*, *vanity*, becauſe all *things* under the *Sunne* are ſo lyable to *inconſtancy* and *change*, that they fleet away, and vaniſh, whilſt they are conſidered; and haſten to their *decay* whilſt we are in the *Contemplation* of them.

Ariſtotle defines *vanity* to bee Ἄλογη πᾶ, ὃ μὴ τύχοιεν πάλιν, Every thing

thing which hath not ſome *reaſonable end* or *purpoſe* belonging to it. For this reaſon, he calls *emptineſſe*, and *vacuity*, *vanity*; Becauſe there is ſo little uſe of it in nature, that to expell it, *things* have an inclination placed in them to performe actions againſt their *kinde*. *Earth* to ſhut out a *vacuity*, is taught to flie up like *fire*; and *fire* to deſtroy *emptineſſe*, is taught to fall downe like *earth*. And for this reaſon, another *Philoſopher* hath ſaid, that *colours*, had there not been made *eyes* to ſee them, and *ſounds*, had there not beene *eares* made to heare them, had been *vanities*, and to no purpoſe. And what they ſaid of ſounds, and colours, we may ſay of all things elſe; not onely all things under the *Sun*, but the *Sun* it ſelfe, who is the great ὀμμα τῦ κόσμυ, the eye of the world, without another eye to behold him, or to know him to be ſo, had been one of *Ariſtotles vanities*.

As then *in Nature* thoſe things have deſerved the name of *vanities*, which either have no reaſonable *end*, or *purpoſe* belonging to them, or elſe are altogether ſubject to *Mutabilty*, and *change*, ſo 'tis in *policy*, and *Religion* too. To doe things by weake, unreaſonable, inconſtant *principles*, *principles* altogether unable to ſupport, and upold the *weight*, and *ſtructure* of *publique buſineſſe* built upon them; or to doe things, with no true ſubſtantiall, ſolid, uſefull, but a meere imaginary good *end* belonging to them; As for example, to alter the whole *frame* and *Government* of *a State*, not that things may be mended, but that they may run in another *courſe* then they did before; or to change the univerſally received *Government* of a *Church* meerely for *change* ſake, and that things may be *new*, not that they may bee *better*, is a *vanity*, of which I know not whether theſe *Prophets*, here in the Text, were guilty; but when I conſider the unreaſonable *changes* already procured, and the yet farther endleſſe *changes* as unreaſonably ſtill purſued by the *Prophets* of our times, I finde ſo much *vacuity*, and *emptineſſe* in their *deſires*, ſo much intereſted *zeale*, and ſo little diſ-intereſted *reaſon*, ſo much *novelty* miſtaken for *reformation*, and withall ſo much *confuſion* preferred before ſo much *decency*, and *order*, that I cannot but apply the *Wiſe mans Ingemination* to them, and call their proceedings *Vanity of vanities*.

For if we may call weak, groundleſſe, improbable *ſurmiſes* and *conjectures*, *vanities*, have not theſe *Prophets* dealt with the mindes

of vulgar people, as *Melancholy* men uſe to deale with the *clouds*, raiſed monſtrous formes and ſhapes to fright them, where no feare was? Have they not preſented ſtrange *viſions* to them? *Idolatrie* in a *Church window*, *Superſtition* in a white *Surplice*, *Maſſe* in our *Common-prayer Booke*, and *Antichriſt* in our *Biſhops*? Have they not alſo to make things ſeem hideous in the *State*, caſt them into ſtrange, fantaſticall, *Chymera figures*? And have they not, like the fabulous, walking *Spirits* wee read of, created imaginary *Apparitions* to the people from ſuch things, ſlight, unſolid melting *Bodies* as *Ayre*? And for all this if you enquire upon what true ſtable *principle*, or *ground*, either taken from *reaſon* (which is now preacht to be a *ſacular*, *prophane*, *heathen* thing) or from *Scripture*, (which is now made to ſubmit to the more unerring rule of *fancy*) they have proceeded; or what hath been the true *cauſe*, of their ſo vaine imaginations, you will finde, that (contrary to all the *rules* of right *judgement*, either common to *men*, or *Chriſtians*) they have been guided meerely by that *Cauſa per accidens*, that *fallible*, *erroneous*, *accidentall cauſe*, which hath alwayes been the mother of *miſtakes*. *Socrate ambulante coruſcavit*; Becauſe it lightned when *Socrates* took the *Ayre*, *one* in the company thought that his *walking* was the occaſion of the *flaſh*: this certainly, was a very *vaine* and *fooliſh* inference; yet not more vaine and fooliſh then theirs, who have taught people to conclude, that all *pictures* in *Church-windowes* are *Idols*, becauſe ſome out of a miſguided *devotion*, have worſhipt them; or that *Surplices*, and the like *Church Veſtures* are ſuperſtitious, becauſe ſome ſuperſtitious *men* weare them; or that our *Common-prayer booke* is *Popery*, becauſe part of it is to bee found in the *Rubricks* of that *Church*; or that the *government* of the *Church* by *Biſhops* is *Antichriſtian*, becauſe in their *beleefe*, *Antichriſt* already is, or, when he comes into the *world*, ſhall be a Biſhop.

For here, if I ſhould preſſe them in a *rationall*, *logicall* way, (unleſſe they will call *Argument*, and *Logick*, and *Syllogiſme*, *Superſtition* too, and baniſh *Reaſon* as well as *Liturgy* out of the Church) to think (as they doe) that *Churches* are unhallowed by reaſon of their *ornaments*, or to perſwade people to refrain them, becauſe *ſome* out of a blind *zeale* have paid *worſhip* to the *Windows*, is to me a *feare* as unreaſonable, as theirs was, who refuſed to goe to *Sea*, becauſe there was a *Painter* in the City, who limned *Shipwracks*. For certainly,

tainly, if that be all the reason they have to banish *Images* out of the Church, because *some* (if yet there have been any so stupid) have made them *Idols*; by the same reason, we should not now have a *Sun*, or *Moon*, or *Stars* in the *Firmament*, but they should long since have dropt from *Heaven*, because some of the deluded *Heathen* worshipt them. And if that be all the reason they have to prove *Surplices*, or *white vestments* superstitious, because *Papists* wear them, (pardon the meanness of the *subject*, I beseech you, which is scarce worthy of a confutation) why doe not they also conclude *Linnen* to be superstitious, because *Papists* shift, and so make *cleanliness* to be as unlawfull as *Surplices* or *Copes*? Thirdly, to say our *Common-prayer-booke* is *Popish*, because 'tis so good, that some in the Church of *Rome* have praised it, is to mee an accusation as senceless, as *theirs*, who accused the *Generall* of their *Army* of *treason* against the *State*, because his enemies out of the admiration of his vertues, erected a *Statue* to him. Lastly, to call the government of our Church by *Bishops*, *Antichristian*, because that *Church* which they make to be the *seat* of *Antichrist* is so governed, is to me such a weak *Imputation*, as by the same reason makes all the *Christian Governments* of the world *pagan*. And therefore to be utterly extirpated, and banisht out of the world, because in some points of *Government* they resemble the *Common-wealths* of *Infidels*. To all which *vain*, *unlearned*, *impotent*, *shallow* objections raised against the *Church*, when I have added their *vain*, *improbable conjectures*, and *objections* raised against the *State* too; Where things *possible*, nay in a *civill*, *politick* way, almost *impossible*, have beene urged, and cited as things *present*, and done; Where, because some *Princes* have been *Tyrants*, and grievous to their *Subjects*, people in serene, easie, halcyon *times*, have bin made beleeve that an *Ægyptian bondage*, and *Thraldome* was ready to fall upon them; And where, because there was a time when a *bunch of Grapes or two* extraordinary was gathered for the *publicke*, people, after so many *reparations*, so many acts of *recompence*, have been entertained, that those few, irregular *Grapes* were but the *prologues*, and *fore-runners* to the intended *rape* which should in time have been committed upon the whole future, following *vine*, I cannot look upon the Prophets who have thus preacht *vanity* to them, thus amuzed them with false, imaginary *dangers*, but under that description which the *Prophet*

Jeremy hath made of them, in his 23. chap. at the 26. verse; where he calls them *Prophets of the deceit of their owne hearts*, *Seers* who *coyne* their owne *visions*. Men who relying wholly upon the uncertaine *illumination* of their own *fancies*, which they call the *Spirit*, and having never acquainted themselves with the true *wayes*, and *principles* either of *reason*, or *Religion*, which should cleare their *mindes*, and take off the *grosse filme* which beclouds their *understandings*, make it their businesse and profession to deceive *themselves*, and *others*. Building false *conclusions* upon weak, irrationall *premisses*; and supporting improbable *conjectures*, by *fictions*, and *untruths*, Which suggests to me the *second abuse* of the *Ministery*, and *function* of these *Prophets* here in the Text. Which was, that they not onely saw *vanity*, *but divined lyes too*.

4. The second abuse of their function.

The thing in *nature* which makes the expression hold true, that man is ζῶον σύμικτον, a *sociable creature*, is that we are able to repay *conversation* with *conversation*; and have a privilege bestowed upon us, beyond that of *beasts*, that wee can unite, and joyne our selves to one another by *speech*. Without which, we, who now make *rationall assemblies*, and *Common-wealths*, had been only a *rude*, discomposed *multitude*, and *Herd* of men. Nay, without *Language* to expresse our selves, and to associate our selves to one another in *Discourse*, every man had been thus like the *first*, that he had been *alone*, and *solitary* in the world. For where *commerce* and *entercourse*, and *exchange* of minds is denyed, and where all that passeth between us of men is that we are *Alter alteri spectaculum*, onely a *dumbe*, *speechlesse shew*, and *spectacle* to one another; *meetings*, and numerous *Assemblies* are but so many unpeopled *Wildernesses* and *deserts*. And where all that we enjoy of one anothers company is onely the dull *sight*, and *presence*, every one of us may reckon himselfe single in a full *theatre* and *crowd*.

As *speech*, then, was at first bestowed upon us that we might hold *conversation*, and *discourse* with one another, so there was a *Law* imposed upon us too, that wee should not deceive one another by our *speech*. * Ἐστὶ μὲν τὰ ἐν τῇ φωνῇ τῶν ἐν τῇ ψυχῇ παθημάτων σύμβολα. *'Tis *Aristotles definition* of *speech*, which hath a piece of *commutative Justice* in it. *Words*, sayes he, are the *images* of *thoughts*. That is, sayes the *Divine*, they alwayes ought, or should be so. The *minde* is thereby enabled to walke forth of the *Body*, and to make *visits*

to

to another ſeparated, divided *mind*. Our *Soules*, alſo, aſſiſted by *Speech*, are able to meet, and converſe, and hold entercourſe with other *Soules*. Nay, you muſt not wonder at the expreſſion, if I ſay, that as *God* at firſt conveyed our *minds*, and *Soules* into us by *breathing* into us the *breath* of *Life*, ſo by *Speech* he hath enabled us, as often as we *diſcourſe*, to breath them reciprocally back againe into each other. For never man yet ſpoke *Truth* to another, and heard that other ſpeake *Truth* back againe to him, but for that time the ſaying of *Minutius Felix* was fulfilled, *Crederes duas eſſe animas in eodem corpore*, there were enterchangeably two *mindes* in one *Body*.

But this (as I ſaid before) is onely when Truth is ſpoken. Otherwiſe, as the Queſtion was askt of *fire*, *Igne quid utilius?* What more uſefull *gift* did *God* ever beſtow upon us then *Fire?* And yet the ſame *Poet* tells us, that *ſome* have imployed it to burne Houſes. So we may ſay of *Words*, *Sermone quid utilius?* What more beneficiall gift of nature did God ever beſtow upon us then *Speech?* 'Tis the thing which doth outwardly diſtinguiſh us from *Beaſts*, and which renders us, like the *Angels*, (who diſcourſe by the meere *Acts* and *Revelation* of their *wills*) *tranſparent* and *Chryſtall* to one another. But then *Speech* miſ-imployed, and put to a deceitfull uſe, may turne *Chryſtall* into *Jet*. And put into a *Lye*, may raiſe a *ſhade*, and *cloud* of *Diſcourſe*, and *Obſcurity* there, where there ſhould be onely a *Tranſlucency* and *clearneſſe*. In ſhort, ſome men, like the *Fiſh* which blacks the *ſtreame* in which it ſwims, and caſts an *Inke* from its bowels to hide it ſelfe from being ſeen, make *Words*, which were ordained to reveale their *Thoughts*, diſguiſe them: And ſo like the *Father* of *lies*, deale with their hearers, as he deale with our firſt *Parents*, appeare to them, not in their owne, but in a falſe, and borrowed *Shape*; And thereby make them imbrace an *Impoſture* and *Falſhood*, in the *figure*, and *Apparence* of a *Reality* and *Truth*.

An offence ſo fit to be baniſht out of the World, that after I have ſaid, that *two* thus talking, and deceitfully mingling *Speech*, are ſome thing more then *Abſent* to one another; After I have ſaid, that the *lyar* is injurious to *things*, as well as *perſons*; Which carry the ſame proportion to our *mindes*, as *Colours* doe to our eyes; And have a *naturall aptneſſe* in them to bee underſtood as they are, but are for

that time not understood, because not rightly *represented:* I must say too that there is *injustice* done to *humane society*. Since in every *untruth* that is *told*, and *beleeved*, one mans *Lye*, becomes another mans *Error*, whereby a piece of his *naturall Right* is taken from him; which *Right* is by the *Casuists* call'd *Judicandi libertas*. Hee is disabled to make a *Right judgement* of what he heares. His *beleefe* betraies him: And the *Speaker* thus fallaciously conversing with him, is not for that time, his *companion*, but his *deceiver*.

But when *Religion* shall be joyned to a *lye*, and when a *Falsehood* shall be attir'd, and cloathed with *Holinesse*; When *they*, whose profession 'tis to convey *Embassies*, and *Messages*, and *voices* from Heaven, shall convey onely *cheats*, and *delusions*, and *impostures* from thence; though I cannot much blame the credulity of the *Simple*, who suffer themselves to be thus religiously *abused*, and like men who see *Juglers*, thinke their money best spent, where they are best *cosened*; yet, certainly, the *deceivers* themselves doe adde this over and above to the sinne of *Lying*, that whereas others hold onely the *Truth* of things, these men hold the *Truth* of *God in unrighteousnesse*.

And such it seems, were these Prophets here in the Text. Who the better to comply with the *Publique sinnes* of their times, did put untruths, and *falshoods* to the same holy use, that others did sacred *Inspirations*, and *Dreames*. *Fictions*, the bastard creatures of their owne corrupt *fancies*, were delivered as *Prophecies* infused into them from Heaven, and he who fained most, and could lye with the most religious *Art*, was thought to have the greatest measure of the *Spirit*. Prosperous successes were foretold to wicked undertakings, and the *Prophets* dealt with the people, as some bold *Almanack-makers* deale with us; coyn'd foule, or faire weather as they pleased to set the times, and then referred it to *casualty*, and *chance* to come to passe.

And can I passe over this part of the Text, and not say that there have been such *Prophets* among us in our times? Unlesse things should come about againe, that the *devill* should the second time get a *Commission* to become a *lying Spirit* in the *mouth* of the *Prophets*, with a promise from the *Almighty*, that hee should *prevaile* too, were it possible that so much *cosenage* should so long passe, for so much *Truth*? Have we not seene the *Prophet Micah's* prophe-

ticall

tical curſe fulfilled upon this *Kingdome?* 'Tis in his 2. Chap. at the 11. ver. where he ſayes, that *if a man walking in the Spirit, and falſhood, doe lye, he ſhall be the Prophet of this people.* Certainly, my Brethren, when I conſider how much *Romance*, how much *Gazette*, how much *Legend* hath for ſome yeares paſt for *Sermon*; When I conſider (even with teares in my eyes) the many falſe aſperſions ſtuck upon our defamed, wronged *Vniverſity*, by ſome, who (even againſt the light of their eyes as well as *Conſciences*) have charged the *Breaſts* that gave them ſuck with *infected poyſon'd milke*; And have belyed their ſpotleſſe *Mother*, as if ſhe were turned *Strumpet*; or as if 'twere grown a place from whence *pietie*, and *gifts* and true *Religion*, have long ſince taken flight; a *place* which needs *Converſion*, and which affords nothing but *dangerous education*; of which crime, I confeſſe, I know not whether ſhe be guilty, unleſſe it be for bringing forth ſuch *abortive lying Sonnes*, who thus make it part of their Religion to revile *Her*; when I farther conſider, that they have not ſpared *Majeſty* it ſelfe, though cloathed, and armed by God with all the ſacred *Guards* which ſhould protect it from the venome of ſuch diſloyall, ſlanderous *mouthes*; when I yet farther conſider the ſeeming *ſanctity* of the *perſons* that do this, with what *Holy paſſion*, what *inſpired zeale*, what *compoſure of face*, what *contention of voice*, what *earneſt Rhetorick of hand*, what *Language* of *Saints*, they doe this; Laſtly, when I conſider how many there are, who, driving a gainfull *Trade* in *fictions*, (*fictions* as ſtrange as his, who wrote of *Virgins* transformed to *Bay-trees*) uſe to *lye* as devoutly from ſuch holy ground as this, as others uſe to *pray*; And when withall I doe obſerve that there is ſprung up a certaine *Sect* of *Hearers* among us, who as *zealouſly* lend attention to *lyes*, as their *Preachers* utter them; I cannot but take the *Philoſophers* liberty to my ſelfe, and pronounce of ſuch *Congregations*, as he did of *Markets*; that they are places where people meet to *deceive*, and be *deceived*.

And as in *Shops*, and *Markets*, Religion is ſometimes put to helpe out faulty Ware, and the name of *God* is cited to make up meaſure and weight, and part of the falſe *light* by which the *Buyer* is over-reacht, is the ſeeming ſanctity of the *Seller*: So 'tis here. A certaine *religious, holy, ſacramentall cozenage* paſſeth between Preacher and People. And that they may the more ſolemnly bee cozened,

cozened, these *Prophets* deale with their *Fictions*, as the *Devill* dealt with his *temptations*, when hee would have perswaded our *Saviour Christ* to cast himselfe downe from a *Pinacle*, cloath them with *Scripture*, saying, *Thus it is written*, and, *thus saith the Lord God, when the Lord hath not spoken*; which brings me to the third, and last abuse of their *Profession*, and *Ministeriall Function*. Which is to entitle God to their *vanities*, and *lyes*. To which I shall onely adde some briefe Application of some things in this Sermon to our selves, and so commend you to God.

Injury of to God.

Lucian, I remember in his Ἀλεξάνδρου, or *false Prophet*, tells us of a certaine *Mountebanke Cheater*, who the more artificially to deceive the *People*, did set up an *Oracle* of his owne Fancying, and contrivance; in which he was both the *God*, and *Priest* to the People who came to enquire. And, like the *Priests* of those other true *Oracles*, which we read of, where the *Sybill* never gave answers till she was first *entranced*, and felt a kinde of sacred *fury*, and *possession* within her selfe; so *he*, (as often as he pleated to delude the People) had his sacred *ragings*, and *trances* too; and appeared to those who came to consult with him, filled with a kinde of *holy fury*, and possest with the *God* that spoke through him.

Me thinks, these Prophets here in this Text, were just such *Jugglers*, who, in preaching their owne *Fancies* for *Gods dictates*, did not onely set up a false *Oracle*, in which they were to the People, both the *Deity*, and the *Priest*; but they *divined* untruths to them, in the same *holy*, *solemne*, *Propheticall* forme and way, as others did *truths*. *Lyes* had a kinde of holy *trance*, and *extasie*, and *rapture* put to them; and *Falshoods* came from them in a kinde of sacred *madnesse*, and *possession*. As often as they had a minde to *deceive* the People, they could presently raise to themselves their owne *inspirations*, and as often as a *Plot*, or *Project* was to be brought about, they could presently snatch themselves up into the *third Heaven*; and could returne from thence as full of *holy fiction*, and *imposture*, as S^t. *Paul* did of *astonishment*, and *wonder*. In the delivery of which *Fictions* to the People, there was thus much holy *cozenage* more added, that the Lips of the Reporters seemed for that time to bee touched with a *Coale from the Altar*; and God by the secret influence and instinct of his *holy Spirit*, was thought to be the *kindler* of that *Coale*.

An

An injury of that *(hipocriticall*, ſhall I ſay? or rather) bold, preſumptuous, impudent *nature*, that when I have ſpoken of it the moſt gently I can, I muſt ſay tis ſomething more then the breach of the third *Commandement*. For there wee are onely bid not *to take Gods name in vaine*; that is, not to mingle him with our ordinary, raſh, light, unpremeditated diſcourſes, or not to forſwear our ſelves by him, or cite him to be a witneſſe to our *perjuries*. But they who ſpeak falſely in his *name*, and vent their owne ſiniſter *Plots* for his *inſpirations*; they, who, when they ſhould bee the meſſengers of *truth*, and the reprovers of *ſinne*, ſhall ſtand as the meſſengers of of *falſhood*, and encouragers of publique *wrongs*, between *him*, and the *people*; doe not onely *take his name in vaine*, and (as much as in them lyes) draw a cheapneſſe, and contempt upon it; but do commit a ſin worſe then perjury, for that onely calls him to *teſtifie*, and *beare witneſſe*, but theſe men make him the *Principall*, and firſt *Author* of a *Lye*: And ſo ſtick the *reproach* of a weak, impotent *vice* upon him, common to none, but baſe, ſervile, perfideous *natures*, and *ſlaves*.

You may read in the old Teſtament, that the *Prieſt* of thoſe times, among his other *Ornaments*, wore two precious *Stones* in his *Breſt-plate*, called the *Urim* and *Thummim*. Through which, according as they did at times caſt a *bright*, or *dimmer luſtre*, God revealed his pleaſure, or diſpleaſure to the People; and ſpoke to them by the ſparkle of a *Jewell*, as he did at other times by the *mouth* of a *Prophet*. You may read too, that after the *Tabernacle* was ſet up, God had a *Throne*, or *Mercy-ſeat* placed for him, between the *Wings* of two *Cherubims*, which veiled it; from whence at certaine times he ſent forth *Oracles*. Here then, let me put this caſe to you.

Suppoſe the *Prieſt*, who wore the *Breſt-plate*, ſhould have belyed his *Jewels*, and when the people came to enquire of him, ſhould have interpreted a *pale*, for a *bright Ray* to the people; or ſuppoſe, he ſhould have taken out the *true*, and have placed two *falſe counterfeit Jewels* in his *Breſt-plate*; and ſhould have taught them, by a kinde of ſecret *conſpiracie*, not to ſparkle by the certainty, and holineſſe of their owne *impartiall Fires*, but according to the deſires, and *Plot*, and *Stratagem* of the *Conſulters*; had not this been plainly to ſet up an illegitimate *Anti-urim*, and *Thummim*; which

ſhould have caſt a *falſe*, as the other did a *true* luſtre? Nay, had not this been to make God, who uſed to appeare, and reveale himſelfe in theſe *Iewels*, as he did to *Moſes* in the *Buſh*, in a flame of *Fire*, to become like one of thoſe *erraticall, uncertain, wandring night-fires*, of which *Ariſtotle* ſpeaks in his *Meteors*; *Fires*, which *ſhine* onely to lead *Travellers* out of the way?

Once more put the caſe, that the *Prieſt* ſhould have uſurped the *Throne*, and *Mercy-ſeat* of God, and when the people came to enquire, ſhould have placed himſelfe between the *Cherubins*, and ſhould from thence have uttered ſuch falſe, pleaſing *Oracles*, as he knew would moſt ſuite, and comply with the *humour*, and *Intereſt of the Inquirers*; Had not this been moſt inſolently, to thruſt himſelfe into the place of *God*, and for that time to depoſe him from his *Sanctuarie* or *holy Place*, and to aſſume his *buſineſſe* and peculiar *Office* to himſelfe? Nay, had not this been the way in time, to draw the ſame bad report upon him, which once paſſed upon the *Oracle* at *Delphos*, *Apud Apollinem, ut mihi videtur, mendacia emuntur*, men paid for lyes at *Delphos*, and ſacrificed to *Apollo* to be *cozened* and *deceived?*

That this was the *ſinne* of theſe *Prophets* here in the Text is evident from the words of it, and from their coherence with the reſt of the Chapter. Who, (as if they had entred into the ſame ſecret *compact* with God, as they had with their other *Complotters* of thoſe times) made no other uſe of their profeſſion, but onely to humour *great men*, and to make *Sale* and *Gaine* of their *Prophecies*. *Enthuſiaſmes*, and *Viſions*, and *Dreames*, and *Revelations*, were uttered, as ſome *Mechanick* men utter their *Commodities*, to him that would give moſt. The *Sanctuarie*, in plaine termes, was made a place of *Merchandize*; onely the *Ware* was *Spirituall*. And the difference between *Simon Magus's bargaine* with the *Apoſtles*, and the *Bargaine* here in the Text, was onely this, that here both *parties* conſented; The *one* ſiniſterly *bought*, the *other* ſiniſterly *ſold* the *holy Ghoſt*.

An offence, my Brethren, ſo directly againſt the *Truth*, and *veracity*, and *Majeſty* of *God*, ſo neere, (if not out-right) that never to be pardoned ſin againſt the *holy Ghoſt*, that I am ſorry I muſt ſay, that all the *defence* that can be made for it, is, that our *times* have brought forth *prophets* who have taken the ſame courſe.

For

For now, as if the *Scripture* were in a perverſe, prepoſterous *ſenſe* the ſecond time to be fulfilled, that the *Fooliſh things of the world ſhall confound the wiſe*, and that *lyes*, and *fictions*, and *things that are not*, ſhall bring to nought *Realities*, and *Truths*, and *things* that are, he is not onely thought to be the *holieſt man*, who can lye moſt in a *holy Cauſe*, but he thrives beſt, and makes the beſt *ſpirituall Markets*, who moſt belyes *God* to his *Glorie*. To what unweighed, aery *ſcruples*, and *vanities*, is he entitled? How is his *Scripture*, for want of learning to underſtand it aright, abuſed, and made the *bellowes* to blow a *fire*, fit rather to be quencht by the repentance, and *teares* of the *Incendiaries*, and *feeders of it*? How many are there who daily urge text for *Blond-ſhed*, and undertake to preve the *ſlaughter* of their *Brethren*, (I had almoſt ſaid of their lawfull Prince and Soveraigne too) warrantable by the *VVord* of *God*? What bold *Libell*, or *Pamphlet* hath not for ſome yeares *railed* in a holy *ſtyle*? And what Sermons have not been ſpiced with a a holy *ſedition*? Hath it not (even to the ruine of one of the moſt flouriſhing *Kingdomes* of the world) beene made a piece of Religion to *divide it againſt it ſelf*, & to divorce a *King* from his *People*, and his *people* from their *peace*? Have not men been taught that they cannot give *God* his *due*, if they give *Cæſar* his? And that the onely way left to preſerve in themſelves, the *grace* and *favour* of the *one*, is quite to deface and blot out the *image* and *ſuperſcription* of the *other*? And have not the *Teachers* of theſe ſtrange, *unchriſtian Doctrines*, delivered them to the people in the holy *ſtile* of *Prophets*? Have they not called a moſt unnaturall, civill *VVar*, *the burden of the Lord*? Have they not quite inverted the *injunction* of the *Apoſtle*, and turning his *affirmative* into their *negative*, have they not (directly contrary to his word) ſaid, *Thus ſaith the Lord*, *honour not the King*?

My brethren, let me ſpeake freely to you, as in the preſence of God, who knowes that I hate the ſinne of theſe *Prophets* here in the Text, too much to flatter. Or if I would be ſo irreligiouſly *ſervile*, you your ſelves know that the preſent condition of things is at too low an *ebbe*, for me or any man elſe to hope to thrive by ſuch a falſe *Engine*. If there be ſuch a thing as a *VVaking providence* over the *actions* of men, (wich, I confeſſe, an *unreſolved* man in ſuch *irregular* times as theſe might be tempted to queſtion) or if there bee

ſuch a thing in *nature* as *Truth*, with a promiſe annext to it by the *God* of *Truth*, that firſt or laſt it ſhall *prevaile*, unleſſe by a *timely*, and *ſeaſonable repentance* of their *abuſe* of the *Name* of *God*, and of their many bold *reproaches* throwne upon his *Annoynted*, they divert their *puniſhment*: Something, me thinks, whiſpers to me, (I dare not be ſo confident of my owne infallible ſanctity, as to call it the Spirit of God) but ſomething whiſpers to me, and bids mee in the Prophet *Ezechiels* words in another place, *Prophecie* againſt theſe *Prophets*; and ſay, * *VVoe to the foolish Prophets who have*
Ezek. 13. 3. *followed their owne ſpirit, and have ſeen nothing. Becauſe with lies they have made the heart of the Righteous ſad, whom the Lord hath not made ſad; and have ſtrengthned the hands of the wicked, that he ſhould not returne from his evill way.*

Or if this will not awake them, but that they will ſtill be guilty of the *ſinne* of theſe *Prophets* here in the Text, they muſt not take it ill, if, not I, but the holy Ghoſt (which they ſo much boaſt of, & by whom they ſo confidently pretend to ſpeake) paſſe this ſad *ſentence* on them and their *complyers*, by the mouth of two other *Prophets*.

1. As for their *complyers* (if any ſuch there have been) who have
Eſay 30. 10. ſaid to the * *Seers, See not*, and to the *Prophets, Prophecie not unto us right things, but ſpeake to us ſmooth things, Prophecie deceits*; let them heare with trembling what the *Prophet Eſay* ſayes in his 30. Chapter at the 12. and 13. Verſes. *Becauſe* (ſayes he) *ye deſpiſe my word, and truſt in oppreſſion, and perverſeneſſe, and ſtay thereon; Therefore, thus ſaith the holy one of Iſrael, This iniquity ſhall bee to you as a breach ready to fall, ſwelling out in a high wall, whoſe breaking commeth ſuddenly, at an inſtant.* The meaning of which propheticall judgement will be eaſily underſtood of any, who ſhall conſideringly marke the beginning and progreſſe of the Chapter to the context where 'tis uttered and denounced.

Next, as for the *Prophets* themſelves, who for *poore, low, earthly intereſts*, and *reſpects*, have ſuffered themſelves to be *miſ-led*, let them with *confuſion of face*, heare what the *Prophet Jeremy* ſayes in the 23 Chapter, at the 32. verſe. A place no leſſe remarkable then the former. *As for thoſe*, ſayes he, *who doe prophecie falſe dreames, and do tell them, and cauſe my people to erre by their lyes, and by their lightneſſe, yet I ſent them not, nor commanded them; behold, I am againſt them, ſaith the Lord, and they ſhall not profit this people at all, ſaith the Lord God.*

The

The conclusion then of this Sermon, shall be this. Fathers, and brethren of this *University*: I presume it could not but seem strange to you, to heare your *Manners*, and *Religion*, as well as *Studies*, and *Learning* not long since publiquely reproved, and preacht against out of this *Pulpit*, by men, who professe themselves, indeed, to be *Prophets*, but discovering to you so little, as they did of the *abilities* of *Prophets sonnes*, could not but seem to you very unfit *Reformers*, or instructers of this place. I presume also, that with a serious griefe of heart, you cannot but resent, that there should bee thought to be such a *dearth*, and scarcity of able, *vertuous* men among us, that the *Great Councell* of this Kingdome, in pitty to our wants, should think it needfull to send us men *better gifted*, to teach us how to *preach*. What the negligence, or sloth, or want of *industrie*, in this place hath been, which should deserve this great *exprobration* of our *Studies* from them; or how one of the most famous *Springs* of *Learning*, which of late *Europe* knew, should by the mist-representation of any false reporting men among us, fall so low in the esteem of that *great Assembly*, as to be thought to need a *Tutor*, I know not: Nor will I here over-curiously enquire into the ungistednesse of the persons, who have drawne this *reproofe* upon us, or say that some of us, perhaps might have made better use of our time, and of the bounty of our *Founders*, then by wrapping up our *Talent* in a *Napkin*, to draw the same reproach upon our *Colledges*, which once passed upon *Monasteries*, which grew at length to be a Proverbe of *Idlenesse*. But that which I would say to you, is this: *Solomon*, in one of his Proverbs, sends the sluggish *man* to the *Spider*, to learne *diligence*. Take it not ill, I beseech you, if I send some of you (for this is a piece of exhortation which doth concerne very few) who have been lesse industrious to these *vaine*, but *active Prophets*, which I have al this while preacht against. Mistake me not, I doe not send you to them, to learne knowledge of them. For you know 'tis a received *axiom* among most of them, that any *unlearned*, *unstudied* man, assisted with the *Spirit*, and his *English Bible*, is sufficiently gifted for a *Preacher*. Nor doe I send you to them to be taught their *bad Arts*, or that you should learn of them to *dawbe* the publique *sinnes* of your times; or comply with the *insatiable*, *itching Eares* of those whom St. *Paul* describes in the fourth Chapter of his second *Epistle* to *Timothy*, at the third

The conclusion.

verse

verſe, where he ſayes, that *the time ſhould come, when men ſhould not endure ſound Doctrin, but after their owne luſts, ſhould heap to themſelves teachers.* A prophecie, which I wiſh were not too truely come to paſſe among us; where *Studies* and *learning*, and all thoſe other excellent *helpes*, which tend to the right underſtanding of the *Scripture*, and thereby to the preaching of *ſound Doctrine*, are thought ſo unneceſſary by ſome *Mechanicke*, *vulgar men*, that no *Teachers* ſuit with their *ſicke*, *queaſie Palats*, who preach not that ſtuffe, for which all *good Schollers* deſervedly count them mad: I do not, I ſay, ſend you to them for any of theſe reaſons. But certainly, ſomething there is which you may learne of them; which St. *Paul* himſelf commends to you, in the *ſecond verſe* of the fore-mentioned *Chapter*. If you deſire to know what it is, 'tis an unwearied, frequent, ſedulous diligence of *Preaching* the Word of God, if need be, as they doe: *In ſeaſon, out of ſeaſon*, with reproofe of ſin, where ever you finde it, and with exhortation to goodneſſe where ever you find it too; and this to be done at all times, though not in all places. For certainly, as long as there are Churches to be had, I cannot thinke the next heap of *Turfes*, or the next pile of *Stones*, to be a very decent *Pulpit*; or the next Rabble of *People*, who will finde *eares* to ſuch a *Pulpit*, to be a very ſeemly *Congregation*. For let me tell you my brethren, that the power of theſe mens induſtries, never defatigated, hath been ſo great, that I cannot thinke the milde *Conquerour* (whoſe Captives we now are, and to whoſe praiſe, for his civill uſage of this afflicted *Univerſity*, I as the unworthieſt member of it, cannot but apply that *Epithet*) owes more to the *Sword*, and *courage* of all his other Souldiers, for the obtaining of this, or any other *Garriſon*, then to the Sweats, and active *Tongues* of theſe doubly armed *Prophets*; who have never failed to hold a *Sword* in one hand, and a *Bible* in the other. There remaine then, but one way for us to take off the preſent *reproach*, and *imputation* throwne upon us, Which is to confute all ſlie, ſiniſter, clancular *reports*, and to out-doe theſe active men hereafter in their owne induſtrious way. To preach *Truth* and *Peace*, and *ſound Doctrine* to the People, with the ſame *ſedulity*, and *care*, as they preach *Diſcord*, *Variance* and *Strife*. If this courſe be taken, and be with fidelity purſued, it will not onely bee in our power to *diſ-inchant* the People, (who of late (by what *Spell*, or *Charme* I know not) have

have unawares begun to entertaine a piece of *Popery* amongſt them, and to think, *ignorance the onely Mother of Devotion*) But it will be no hard matter for us, (towards the effecting of ſo charitable a worke, as the undeceiving of ſo many well-minded, but miſ-guided Soules) to make our true *Arts* deale with their *falſe*, as the *Rod* of *Moſes* dealt with the *Magicians Serpents*, firſt, ſhew them to be onely ſo much fantaſticall *Forme*, and *Aire*, then conſume and eate them up, in the preſence of their *Beleevers*. To which (for a concluſion of all) I ſhall onely adde this, That if this courſe bee taken, and bee reduced to practice, aſſiſted with thoſe great advantages (which are to moſt of them unknown) of *Study*, *Learning*, *Tongues*, the uſe of *Libraries*, and *Books*, beſides thoſe other helpes of *opportunity*, *time*, and *leiſure*, to render our ſelves able, (which they too immaturely ingaged to a Family, or Fortune, cannot haue) we ſhall not onely comply with the ends and intentions of thoſe *Founders*, who built us *Colledges*: (which they, certainly, intended ſhould be Schools of *vertue*, not Nurſeries of *ſloth*) but our deſpiſed *Mother*, the *Univerſity*, ſhall reap more honour by us, our *Countrey* more ſervice, and *God* more glory. To *whom* with his *Son*, and the *Holy Spirit* of *truth*, be aſcribed all honour and praiſe.

Amen.

FINIS.

A late Printed

SERMON

AGAINST

Falſe Prophets,

Vindicated by

LETTER,

From the cauſeleſs Aſperſions of

Mr. FRANCIS CHEYNELL.

By *Jaſper Mayne, D.D.* the miſ-underſtood Author of it.

LUKE 21. 19.

Ἐν τῇ ὑπομονῇ ὑμῶν κτήσασθε τὰς ψυχὰς ὑμῶν.

Printed in the Yeare,
clɔ Iɔc XLVII.

A late printed SERMON againſt FALSE PROPHETS,

Vindicated by Letter, from the cauſeleſſe Aſperſions of Mr. FRANCIS CHEYNELL.

AS often as I have, for ſome yeares, conſidered the *ſad Diſtractions* of this *Kingdome*, methinkes, thus *divided* againſt it *ſelfe*, it hath verified upon it ſelfe the *Fable* of the *People* ſowne of *Serpents Teeth*; where, without any knowne *Cauſe* of a *Quarrell*, *Brother* ſtarted up ſuddenly armed againſt *Brother*, and making the place of their *Nativity* the *Field*, and *Scene* of their *Conflicts*, every one fell by the *Speare* of the next, upon the *turfe*, and *furrow* which hatcht and brought him forth. 'Tis true, indeed, ſome have *preacht*, and others have *printed*, that the *Superſtitions* of our *Church* were growne ſo high, that they could not poſſibly be purged but by a *Civill Warre*. But finding, upon my moſt ſober and impartiall Inquiries, that theſe *Superſtitions* were onely the *miſconceipts* of ſome mens *ſicke Fancies*, who called certaine *ſleight harmleſſe peeces of Church Ceremony Superſtition*, I thought it a peece of *Charity* to them and the deluded *people*, to let them no longer remaine in the Caſe of the *diſtracted Midianites* in the Booke of * *Iudges*; where, upon a Dreame told by a *man* to his *Neighbour*, and upon the ſight of ſuch inconſiderable things as *lamps*, and *broken* * c. 7. v. 1

pitchers, every *mans sword was against his fellow*; and a well-order'd *Hoſt* of *freinds*, ſtruck with an imaginary feare, became a confuſed and diſorder'd *heape*, and *rout of enemies*. This deſire to rectifie *miſtakes*, and withall to ſhew upon what ſlender threds of *vanity* their *Sermons* hang, whoſe *accidentall*, *miſguided Arguments*, under certaine *falſe colours*, have ſtrived to prove *things indifferent* to be *unlawfull*; and then, that thus by them pronounced *unlawfull*, they are to be *extirpated* by the *Sword*, cauſed me at firſt to preach a *Sermon* againſt *Falſe Prophets*, which hath ſince paſt the *Travell* of a more *publique Birth*: wherein, what a cold Advocate I am in my pleadings for *Superſtition*, will appeare to any, who with an unclouded underſtanding ſhall read it: yet *M. Cheynell*, (one of the *Preachers* ſent downe by the *Parliament* to *Oxford*) in a *morning Sermon* of his preacht at *S. Maries* Jan. 17. upon *Eſay*. 40. 27. Having directed the *Doctrinall* part of it againſt one *M. Terbury*, an *Independent*, (who publikely in a Diſpute with him held, that the *Fulneſs of the Godhead dwells in the Saints bodily*, *in the ſame meaſure that it did in Chriſt*) not without much *violence* offer'd to his *Text*, He directed the *vſe* and *Application* of it to *me*; whom (after ſome *characteriſticall* reproaches of my *perſon*, and defamations of my *Sermon*) He challenged to a publike *Diſputation* with him. This (after two dayes) coming to my knowledge, I diſputed with my ſelfe what I was to doe in ſuch a caſe: To returne *reproaches* for *reproaches*, or to vindicate my ſelfe in the place where I was thus publikely reviled, had bin to make my ſelfe *Second* in a fault, which the whole *Congregation* condemned in him as the *Firſt*. Beſides if I could have diſpens'd with my ſelfe for being ſo unchriſtianly revengefull, as to remove part of the *Civill Warre*, which hath too long imbrued out *Fields*, into the *Temple*, and there to anſwer *Challenges*, and fight *Duells* from the *pulpit*, this licence was denyed me; who have for divers monthes beene compelled to be a *ſpeechleſs member* of this ſilenced *Vniverſity*. Againe, To ſleepe over my *infamy*, and to diſſemble my *diſgrace*, had beene to beget an *opinion* in the *mindes* of thoſe that heard him, that either *I* wanted a *good cauſe*, or elſe my *good cauſe* wants a *Defender*. At length (ſomething contrary I confeſs, to the *peaceableneſs* of my *ſtudies*, which never delighted much in

thoſe

those *quarrelsome* parts of Learning, which raise *tempests* between men) following the *Scripture* counsell, which is, to take my *offending Brother aside in private*, and *to tell him of his fault*, I resolved by the *secresie* of writing to wipe off those *Calumnies* for the future, and to answer the bold *Challenge* for the present, which *hee* hurl'd at me in the *Pulpit*; and having first banish'd all *gall*, and *Bitternesse* from my *pen*, sent him this following *Letter*.

SIR,

THat a *Text* of *Scripture* in your handling should weare two *faces*, and the *Doctrine* of it should bee made to looke one way, and the *use* of it another, is at all no wonder to me. But that pretending so much to *Holinesse*, and *Christianity* as you doe, you should thinke the *Pulpit* a fit place to revile me in, would hardly enter into my beleif, were not the *Congregation* that heard you on *Sunday morning* last at *S. Maryes*, my *cloud of Witnesses*. From some of which I am informed, that you solemnly charged me with *imprudence* and *impudence*, for publishing a late *Sermon against false Prophets*. SIR, Though *report*, and my *name* perfixt in the *Title-Page* might probably perswade you, that I am the *Author* of it; yet to assure you, that I caused it to be publish'd, or consented to the *printing* of *it*, will certainly require a more *infallible illumination*, then, I presume, you have. Besides, if I should grant you that 'twas *printed* with my consent, (which yet I shall not) yet certainely the *seasonablenesse* of it in a *time* where *godlinesse* is made the *engine* to arrive to so much *unlawfull gaine*, will excuse me from *imprudence*, though perhaps not from an *unthriving*, in your sense, *want* of *policy*. And as for the *impudence* you charged me withall, I am confident that all they who heard *you* with impartiall *Eares*, and have read that *Sermon* with impartiall *Eyes*, have, by this time, assigned that want of *modesty* a place in a more capable *forehead*. I heare farther that having in a kinde of *pleasant disdaine* shuffled *pipes*, *Surplices*, *pictures in Church-windowes*, *Liturgy*, *and Prelacy* together in one period, and stiled them the *musty Relickes* of an at-length-banisht *Superstition*, you were pleased out of that *heape* to select *Images*, and to call them *Idolls*, and then to charge me as a *defender* of them.

SIR, Had you done me but the ordinary Justice to pluck my

Sermon

Sermon out of your *pocket*, as you did the *Practicall Catechiſme*, and had faithfully read to your *Auditory* what I have there ſaid of *Images*, I make no queſtion, but they would all have preſently diſcerned that I defend not *Pictures* in *Church windowes* as they are *Idolls*, or have at any time beene made ſo, but that 'tis unreaſonable to baniſh them out of the *Church* as long as they ſtand there meerly as *Ornaments* of the *place*. From which innocent uſe having not hitherto digreſt, for you to call them *Idols*, and then to charge me as if I had made them *equall with God*, by my defence of them ſo *formallized*, will I feare, endanger you in the *mindes* of youre *Hearers*, and beget an *Opinion* in them, that you are one of the *Prophets* who uſe to *ſee Vanity*. I heare farther, that when you had traduced me as a *Defender* of the fore-mentioned *muſty Relicts of Superſtition*, you ſaid, that *this was the Religion to which I profeſt my ſelfe ready to fall a ſacrifice*. Certainely, *Sir*, This is not faire dealing. For if, once more, you had pluckt my *Sermon* out of your *pocket*, and had read to the *Congregation* that paſſage of it which endeavours to prove that 'tis not lawfull to *propagate Religion*, (how pure ſoever it be) by the *ſword*, they would have heard from *your mouth*, as they once did from *mine*, that the *Religion* to which I there profeſſe my ſelf ready to fall a *Sacrifice*, is that *defamed*, *true*, *Proteſtant Religion*, for which the *holy Fathers* of our *Reformation* died before me. In ſaying, therefore, that I profeſſe my ſelfe ready to fall a *ſacrifice* in the defence of *Surplices*, the *Common Prayer Booke*, or *Church Ornaments*, (things which I have alwayes held not *neceſſary*, unleſſe made ſo, by *right Authority*) you have incurred one danger more, which is, not only to be thought to *ſee Vanity*, but to be guilty of the *next part of the Text*. I am farther told, that to deliver your ſelfe from the number of the *falſe Prophets* there preacht againſt, you *prophecyed* in the *Pulpit*; and choſe for the *ſubject* of your *prediction*, a thing which is poſſible enough for you to bring to paſſe; which was, that you *will have my Sermon burnt*.

Sir I have, for your ſake, once more ſeverely conſider'd it. And can neither finde *Socinianiſme*, or any other *Poland Doctrine* there which ſhould deſerve that *doome*. But if it muſt die like *Biſhop Ridley* or *Hooper*, for its *adhæſion* to the *beſt Religion* that this Kingdome ever enjoyed, I muſt repeat the *words* of my

Sermon,

Sermon, and tell you, that (without the fear of being thought by you a *Pſeudo-Martyr*) I ſhall account it one of the *happieſt paſſages* to *Heaven*, to be diſſolved to *aſhes* with it in the ſame *funerall pile*.

Laſtly, *Sir*, having, with all the *ſober detraction*, which might probably beget a diſlike in the *mindes* of your *Hearers*, of me and my *Sermon*, ſufficiently *defamed both*, I heare you did beat up a *Drumme* againſt me in the *Pulpit*, and ehallenged me to a *publike diſpute* with you. If by a *diſpute* you meant a *pen-combate*, I ſhall be as ready to enter the liſts with you, as you have beene to ſummon me to it, if you will grant me two things. The one is, that, if we engage our ſelves in a *Conference* of that nature, you will confine your ſelfe to the *particulars* in my *Sermon* which you *quarrell'd* at; and not uſe your *ſtrange*, *wilde Art* of multiplying *Queſtions* upon *Queſtions*; or like another *Hydra*, what ever the *Hercules* be, make *three heads* ſpring up in the place where you finde *one convincingly* lopt of. The other is, that, when you have made your *Charge*, and I my *Reſiſtance*, you will conſent that the *debate* of every *queſtion*, thus *diſputed*, may bee made publike and *printed*. But if by a *Diſpute*, you meant that I ſhould fight a *Duell* with you upon the ſame *ſtage*, and in the ſame *Theater* of *men* and *women*, before whom you, and *Mr. Terbury* played your *prize*, I doubt very much, if I ſhould accept of your *Callenge* in that *ſenſe*; whether all diſcreet men would not count this a ſpice of the *phrenzy* in me, which you complained of in the *Pulpit*, for being imputed to you by *Him* that wrote the *Conference* at your late *Scruple-Houſe*; and ſay I deſerved to be cured by the *Diſcipline*, and *Phyſicke* of a *darke roome*. To deale freely with you, Sir, I by no meanes can approve of an *Engliſh Diſputation* in a *Univerſity*. But becauſe you ſhall not looſe your *challenge*, nor I be thought to deſert the *cauſe*, which I profeſſe to defend, ſo you will chooſe the *Divinity Schoole*, and *Latine weapons*, I ſhall not refuſe (as well as God ſhall enable me) to give you a meeting there, and to ſuſtaine the *Anſwerers* part in the *defence* of the *lawfulneſſe* of *white Surplices*, *Church Ornaments*; the *Common Prayer Booke*, and *Prelacy*; which are the *particulars* in my *Sermon*, which you called *Relicts of Superſtition*. To one of theſe two offers I ſhall patiently expect your *anſwer*; unleſſe without troubling

troubling me any further, you will let me quietly retire backe againe into the *ſhade*, from whence you have too importunately called me: Who, neuer the leſs, have learnt ſo much *Charity*, as to pray *God* to forgive you the *wrong* which you intended towards

*From my chamber this evening. Jan.*19. 1646.

The Author *of the* Sermon *againſt* Falſe Prophets.

J. MAYNE.

To this *letter* (in which (as briefly as the *lawes* of a *Letter* would permit) I indeavour'd to waſh out the *ſpots*, with which *M. Cheynell* in his *Sermon* ſtrived to *defile* and *ſully mine*, and withall to comply with him in any ſober way of *Diſpute*, which might befit two *Univerſity-men*) after two dayes was returned an *Anſwer*: Firſt, *ſtrange* for the *meſſenger's* ſake that brought it, which was *One Jellyman* (ſome ſay) a *preaching Cobler*; who from repairing the *decayes* of *Univerſity-mens ſhooes* was now thought fit to have a part in the conveyance of their *diſputes*. Next, for the *double Superſcription* of it, which without, on the ſide of the firſt paper that encloſed it, was as faire and full of Candor as the *whited ſepulcher* in the *Goſpell*, and was directed, To D. MAYNE AT CHRIST-CHURCH. But this outward ſtone was no ſooner rolled away, but another *Inſcription*, very unlike the firſt appear'd, which ran thus. FOR M. JASPER MAYNE (ONE OF THE NEVV DOCTORS) STUDENT AT CHRIST-CHURCH. By which *parenthesis*, it ſeemes *M. Cheynell*, thought it an *errour* in the *Univerſity*, to make me a *Doctor*. And truely (if I may be believed upon my owne report) as often as I compare my *unworthineſs* with my *degree*, I am of *his opinion*; and thinke I am a *Doctor*, fit only to ſtand in a *parenthesis*; and, without any iniuſtice done me, to be left out of the *ſentence*. This ſecond *Superſcription* was underwritten with a kind of a *preamble Letter* to the more *inward Letter*; with the *lock* and *guard* of a *ſeale* upon it; and ran thus.

SIR, I have ſent ſeverall times to your lodging *this day* to anſwer your challenge *yeſterday*; if you cannot meet to *morrow*, let me underſtand your minde to *night*. For I have a great deale of

buſineſs

buſineſs, ſince the *Univerſity* was *ſilenced* for your ſake.

What kinde of *meeting* was here meant, or whether I (having I thanke God, the *uſe* of my *underſtanding*) could conſent to it, will appeare by the *Letter* it *ſelfe*; which (being an *Anſwer* to *mine*) was *verbatim* this.

SIR, I uſe to ſpend my *morning thoughts* upon a better *ſubiect* then a *pot* of dead drinke, that hath a litle *froth* at *top*, and *dreggs* at *bottom*;

SIR, It appeares by your *Letter*, that you doe not underſtand my *Text*, and the *learned Scribe*, or *Intelligencer*, did not vnderſtand my *plaine*, very *plaine Engliſh Sermon*. I am not at leiſure to repeat every *Sermon* that I *preach*, (preaching ſoe often as I doe ſometimes *twice*, and upon juſt occaſion *thrice* a day) to every one that is at leiſure to cavill at that which thay heard but at ſecond hand; yet to ſhew how much you are miſtaken, I will give you a breife, but ſatisfactorie account.

My *Text* ſtands upon record, *Iſa.*40.25. the *Doctrine* I raiſed from the words, was as followeth.

Doct. *There is no creature in heaven, or earth, like God in all things, or equall to God in any thing.*

The firſt *Corollarie* I deduced from *thence*, when I came to make *application*, was breifly *this*.

That *no picture can be made of God, becauſe there was nothing like him in heaven or earth.* All *nations* are leſs then *vanity* in compariſon of *God*; to whom then will ye liken *God*, or what *likeneſs* will ye compare unto him? *Iſay.*40.17.18. The Prophet urgeth this *Argument*, againſt all manner of *images* which are made to repreſent *God*; who ſitteth upon the *circle* of the *earth*, and ſtretcheth out the *heavens* from the 19.*v.of the ſame chap. to the* 23.*ver.* and he enforceth this Argument *verſ.*21. *have yee not knowne---have ye not underſtood?* &c. as if he had ſay'd, yee are *ignorant ſotts, irrationall*, and *inconſiderate men*, if yee apprehend not the *ſtrength* of *this Argument*. Now, *SIR*, be pleaſed to produce your *ſtrong reaſons*, and overthrow, if you can, the *Doctrine* or the *Corollary*. Your, *Intelligencer* was (if not a *falſe Prophet* yet) a *falſe Hiſtorian*, when he told you that I accuſed you of making *images equall with God*. SIR, I ſaid, that *images were not like unto God*; and *thereupon* wondered that you tooke upon you to pleade for the retaining of thoſe *images* which have beene too

 often

often turn'd into *idolls*, not by the *piety*, but *superstition* of *former times*. You say, that by the same reason there should be no *Sun* in the *firmament*. Whence I collect, that you will be forc'd to maintaine, that *images* are as *necessary* in the *Church*, as the *Sun* in *heaven*; be pleased to read the 22. page of the *false Prophet*.

Moreover, you plead for *Copes*, and for those *parts* of the *Common-Prayer Booke* which were borrowed from *Rome*, *pag.* 21, 22. The *Visitors* will ere long enquire, whether there hath not beene a *Superstitious use* of *Copes* at *Christ-Church*? and therfore I did not make any such enquirie in my *Sermon*, but as a *Freind* I give *you* and *your adherents* timely notice of it, because I believe you had need *study* for an *Answer*.

You maintaine, that *some things in the excellencies and height of the Doctrines of Christian Religion depend for their credit and evidence of their truth upon the authority of Christs miracles conveyed along in tradition and story*, *pag.* 16. and *therefore* I say your *Religion* leanes too *hard* and too *heavy* upon *Tradition*.

You are offended that I spoke not distinctly concerning *Prelacy*, you may (if you please) try your *strength*, and endeavour to *prove* that *Christ* hath put the *sole power* of *Ordination* and *Jurisdiction* in the hand of a *Prelate*. 2. You may (if you can) *justifie*, that *no Church that ever the Sun look'd upon hath been more blest with purity of Religion for the Doctrine of it, or better establish'd for the Government and Discipline of it, then the Church of England*, *pag.* 17. if you believe this confident assertion, you may proceed and *justifie* all the *Doctrines*, which were *publikely countenanced*, or *approved*; all the *superstitious practises*, and *prelaticall usurpations*, nay, the *delegation* of the *Prelates*, *usurped power* to *Chancellors* and all the Tyranny of the *high Commission*, together with all the corruptions and innovations introduced into the *State*, *Church*, *University* from the yeare 1630. till 1640. by a *prevailing faction*, who were not the *Church* or *University*, but the *disease*, indeed the *plague* of both. If you dare not undertake so sad a taske, you cannot justifie the 17.18.22,23.27.35. *pages* of the *False Prophet*; you must prove that the proceedings of the *Parliament are Turkish*, *pag.* 15.17. that none of the *Members* of either *House* of *Parliament* (who complaine of the blemishes of the *Church*) are to be esteemed good *Protestants*, *pag.* 18. that the *Reformation* which they have made is *vanity of vanities*, *pag.* 20. that they are guided

guided by no other *principles* but such as are contrary to all rules of right *judgement*, either common to men or Christians, *pag.* 21. that the *Ministers* who have appeared for the *Parliament*, are all of them *False Prophets*, who have encouraged the *Parliament* to *oppression*, *sacriledge*, *murther*, and to make all names that are great and sacred, cheap and odious in the eares of the *people*. That the *Ministers* are the *liars*, and the *Parliament-men* the *compliers*, as appears by all your unworthy *insinuations*, *hints*, *intimations*, quite throughout your *Scurrillous Libell*, falsly called a *Sermon*: let any prudent man judge whether this be not your maine drift and scope, *à carceribus usq; ad metam.*

You talke of a *Religion*, in which you were borne, were you borne in a *Surplice* or a *Cope*? *Christiani non nascuntur sed fiunt.* Sir, the *Parliament* doth not defame nor will they suppresse the true *Protestant Religion*, and therefore if you fall in this *quarrell*, I said, that you must be sacrificed in the defence of *Tyranny*, *Prelacy*, *Popery*: if you put not *Religion* in *Copes*, *Images*, *Prelates*, or *Service-Books*, *quorsum hæc perditio?* why doe you talk of being Martyr'd? say, that (if the King will give you leave) you will burne your *Copes* and *Surplices*, throw off the *Bishops* and *Common-Prayer Booke*, you'l break your windowes, and take the *Covenant*, and make it evident that you are and ever will be of the *Kings Religion*; for you hold none of these things necessary now, (whatever you have said heretofore) *unless they be made necessary by right Authority.*

Sir, if I made any prediction, it was that your *Sermon* would be confuted, before it was burnt; you know *Pareus* was burnt before he was confuted; and if you be not guilty of any *doctrine* received in *Poland*, I wonder, First, why you did endeavour to incense an Officer of this *Garrison* against me, because I had refuted M. *Yerburies blasphemous errors*. 2. Why you did maintaine those *damnable Doctrines* on the last *Sabbath*: forgive me this injurie, for I heare you did but vent them, and were no way able to maintain them.

Sir, I acknowledge that I doe contend for the restitution of the true *Protestant Religion*, and contend for the *civill right* which we have to exercise the true *Protestant Religion*: we were in manifest danger to lose our right, by the force and violence of potent *Enemies*, whereupon the high Court of *Parliament* judged

it fit to repell *force* by *forces*: be pleaſed to ſhew how the *Parliament* doth hereby *canonize* the *Alchoran*, or declare themſelves to be of the *Mahumetan perſwaſion*; the *Parliament* will not compell you to be happy, onely take heed that you do not compell them to make you miſerable. Though you renounce all *Doctrines* that M. *Yerberie* maintaines, yet I thinke you are too great a *friend* to the *Rebels* in *Ireland*; you contend for a *Vorſtian liberty*, not for a *liberty* of conſcience, for you deſire a *liberty for* men that have no conſcience, ſuch as turne from being *Proteſtants to be Infidels*. There is one of M. *Yerburies* opinion, who ſaith, that the righteous are at liberty, [*he that is righteous let him be righteous ſtill*] and the wicked are at liberty, [*he that is wicked let him be wicked ſtill*,] but you are of a more dangerous opinion, the wicked as (as you think) are at liberty to kill and ſlay, but the godly are not at liberty to defend themſelves by the power of the higheſt *Court* of *Juſtice* in the *Kingdome* from illegall and unjuſt oppreſſion, violence. I am convinced by many paſſages in your *Sermon*, eſpecially the 15,16,17. *pages*, that you think we ought not to fight againſt the *Rebells* in *Ireland*, becauſe it is part of their *Religion* (as it was of your brethren the *Cavaliers*) to put all *Roundheads* (as you terme them) to the ſword; *miſſa jam mordet*, the *Maſs* may be armed, but the *Goſpel* muſt not: What thinke you of the *War* fore-told in the book of the *Revelation*? Sir, you abuſe your betters when you talk of the *Scruple-houſe*. You are not worthy to carrie the books of thoſe Reverend *Miniſters* after them, nor could your *Carfax-Sermon* have ever ſilenced the *ungifted Preachers*; you would have found them *gifted Diſputants*: if you think otherwiſe try one or two of them in ſome of their beaten points; Sir, I ſpeake thus freely, becauſe I was not preſent at the *famous meeting*, *Novemb.* 12. but I ſee you can cite one of your owne *Prophets*, *Poets* I ſhould ſay, but he is no truer a *Prophet* then you are like to prove a *Martyr*, a *Cretian Prophet*. Sir, the knowledge of my Brethrens worth, and your famous pride and ſelf-conceitedneſs hath provoked me to let my pen looſe, that I might diſabuſe and humble you.

It ſeems you are unwilling to come upon the *ſtage* (though that be a fitter place for you then the pulpit) to appear before a *Theater* of *men* and *women*: Sir, you love the *ſtage* too well, take heed you doe not love *women* too ill, there is a friend of yours

that

that doth entreat you to beware of dark rooms and light women; for though a great *Phyſitian* doth adviſe you to the uſe of ſuch pleaſing *phyſick*, yet the *Frenchmen* will aſſure you, that it is not wholſome for the body, and the *Engliſh* can aſſure you, that it is not good for the ſoul; your kind of *phrenſie* muſt be cured by more ſevere remedies, your *devill* will be better caſt out with prayer and faſting. You are miſ-informed when you ſay, that I did beat *up my drum*. No Sir, you did found a charge and made a challenge, my acceptance of it was but the eccho which anſwered the 17. and 21. *pages* of the *Falſe Prophet*. In the 17. you ſeem prepared to enter into diſpute preſently with the greateſt *Champion* that appeares for the *Parliament*, Sir, one of the meaneſt that appears for them, takes up that *Gantlet* which you threw forth with ſo much ſcorn and confidence.

In your 21. *page* you threaten to preſs us in a rationall logicall way; Sir, doe your beſt, you ſhall find that we have neither loſt our *reaſon* nor our *logick*. We can diſtinguiſh between *demonſtration* and *ſuperſtition*; and truly Sir, if you had not put more *Poetry* then *Logick* into your *Sermon*, though your *Sermon* might have been longer, yet your *Libell* would have been ſhorter; if you pleaſe to blot out thoſe few places of *Scripture* which you have abuſed by miſapplication and imprudent inſertion of them into ſo prophane and wild a ſtamp, you may do well to turne your *Libell* into *Verſe*, and then it may paſs currant amongſt the *Balladmongers* for a triobolar *Ballad*, and you will be ranked in the number of thoſe who are reputed the moſt excellent *Authors*, next to them that write in *Proſe*. If you are offended that I did not ſhew you ſo much reſpect, as I have ſhewed towards the learned *Author* of the *Practicall Catechiſme*, conſider the difference, nay, diſtance betwen his perſon, education, learning, civility, writings and yours, and you will ſee a very ſufficient and ſatisfactory reaſon. Sir, if that *Author* did overlook your *Letter*, I believe he did adviſe you to contend onely for the *lawfulneſs of Prelacy*, *becauſe I ſee that is interlined*, and he was preſent at the ſad debate at *Uxbridge*; if that learned *Doctor* hath any thing to object againſt me, he knowes my *mind*, *habet atatem*, he is able to ſpeake for himſelfe, the *Oratour* needs not borrow eloquence of ſo prophane a *Poet*.

You are unwilling to diſpute in *Engliſh*, to which I anſwer:

Firſt, your *Sermon* is *Engliſh*. Secondly, many of the perſons whom you have abuſed and deceived by your *printed Sermon*, underſtand not *Latine*. Thirdly, you have been too much addicted to *Engliſh*

playes

Playes, and *English Verſes*, and you have with a pleaſant kind of *ignorance* ſhuffled them (with other *Verſes* publiſhed in more learned *languages*) in the ſame book printed by the *Univerſity-Printer*, and therefore I believe you are moſt able, and moſt ingaged to diſpute in *Engliſh*, for the diſabuſing & undeceiving of thoſe whom you have ſeduced by a *Sermon* preacht and printed in *Engliſh*. Be pleaſed to performe that task to morrow at two of the clock at S. *Maries Church*, where your *Sermon* was preacht, and I will meet you; and if you dare examine your *Sermon* by the *Word of God*, I ſhall be the *Opponent*, becauſe you have choſen to be the *Reſpondent*.

If when the *Doctor of the Chaire* comes home, you pleaſe to diſpute in the *Divinity Schools*, let us agree upon the *ſtate* of the *queſtions* in controverſie, and I will accept your *challenge* at your owne *weapon*, which will I feare have more *falſe Latine*, then *true ſteele*.

SIR, You make a *diſhonourable retreat*, when you ſay that *Prelacy* is lawfull; you have cried it up *jure divino*, & aſſured the *King*, that hee cannot in conſcience paſſe the *Bill* againſt *Prelacy*, becauſe it is a *Government* inſtituted by the will and appointment of *Jeſus Chriſt*. Now ſtand your ground, or confeſs your *errour*, acknowledge that *you* and your *adherents* have perſwaded the *King* to deſtroy ſo many thouſand of his loving and gallant *ſubjects*, that *Prelacy* might be eſtabliſhed in its *tyrannicall height and rigour*; and now the *God* of *heaven* and *Lord of hoſts* hath broken all your *forces*, you tell us that the *Parliament* muſt not purſue their *victory*; but we muſt in charity beare with thoſe *malignant*, *Prelaticall*, and *Antichriſtian errors*, which will not conſiſt with *faith*; be pleaſed to return ſuch an anſwer as will indure the publike *teſt* and *touchſtone*, and you ſhalbe *rationally*, nay *ſpiritually* dealt with by

The *Prior opponent* of the *falſe Prophet*,
Francis Cheynell.

To this *letter* (which (as all the world may judge) declines that part of *entercourſe*, which obligeth one mans *letter* to carry ſome *correſpondence* to anothers, and inſtead of a *confutation*, only multiplies *queſtions*, and urgeth me to prove divers paſſages of my *Sermon*, which M. *Cheynell's* part was to *convince*) becauſe the *ſuperſcription* of it *darkly*, and the *cloſe* of it more *clearly* required me to meet him at an *Engliſh diſputation* the next day at S. *Maries* before the *Townſmen* and their *wives*, (very unfit *moderators*, certainly, in the points there to be diſcuſs'd) I for the preſent (to divert that meeting) return'd him this *ſhort Anſwer*.

SIR,

SIR, THough in the *Letter* you sent me yesterday by (I think) *Tebyman* the *Cobler*, you have given me such a tast of your *Logick* as well as *civility*, that I have small encouragement to meddle any farther with you, (unless you will promise hereafter to write with better *consequence*, and less *distemper*) yet, Sir, least you should triumph over me, as one beaten by your *Arguments*, not by your *rudeness*, I have thought fit for once to return you this *answer*. First, that without the *danger* of a *dark room* (as I told you before) I cannot consent to *meet* you at S. *Maries* at two a clock. Next, that I do imbrace your *offer* to meet me at *Latine weapons* in the *Divinity Schoole*, when the *Doctor of the Chayre* comes to town. Thirdly, that if your *Syllogismes* be no better then your *wit*, (which I perceive strived to be *facete*, when it adventured to say, that you *feare* my *weapon will have more false Latine then true steele*) I doubt the *Poet* you contemne so much, will go equall with you in the *conquest*. Lastly, not being ingaged (I confess) to preach *thrice a day*) I will with as much dispatch as I can, put *order* to your *chaos*, and return a *fuller answer* to your *strange letter*; wherein I know not whether you have less *satisfied*, or more *reviled*

From my Chamber this morning Jan. 22. 1646.

The *Author* of the *Sermon* against *false Prophets*, *J. Mayne.*

This *Letter* might have beene lengthened with many other *reasons* (besides those already set down) to shew how unfit 'twas for mee to meet M. *Cheynell* at an *English disputation* at S. *Maries*, as M. *Yerbury* did. As first, because the *frame* and *carriage* of the whole *dispute* between us, in all probability would have been as *irregular* and *tumultuous* as the other was; where, because neither of them kept themselves to the *lawes of disputation*, which enjoyne the *Disputants* to confine themselves to *Syllogisme*, raised from the strict rules of *Mood* and *Figure*, which admit not of *extravagancy*: In the judgment of all *Schollers* who were present, it was not a *Dispute*, but a wild *conflict*, where neither answered one another, but with some mixture of *ill language*, were both *Opponents* by turnes. Next, because the greatest part of the *Auditory* would have consisted of such a confluence of *Townsmen* and *women*, as understood good *Arguments* and *Replies* as little as they do *Latine*; and so the issue of this *Disputation* would probably have been the same with the former; where M. *Cheynell* was thought to have the better by *one Sex*, and M. *Yerbury* by the *other*. Loath, therefore to forfeit

ſcit my diſcretion before ſuch an *Incompetent Aſſembly* of witneſſes, with as much diſpatch as one ingaged by promiſe could make, I returned to his *Letter* this fuller *Anſwer*.

SIR, Among the other praiſes, which greater friends to the *Muſes* then I perceive you are, have beſtowed upon *Virgil*, he hath been called the *Virgin Poet*. Yet *Auſonius* ordering his *Verſes* another way, hath raiſed one of the moſt looſe laſciviousPoems from him that I think ever wore the name of a *Marriage-ſong*. Me thinks Sir (and I doubt not but all they who ſhal compare them together will be of my opinion)you in your Letter have juſt dealt ſo with my *Sermon*; it went from my hands forth a ſober *Virgin*,but falling into yours,it returns to me ſo ſtrumpeted, ſo diſtorted in the ſenſe,and miſapplied in the expreſſions,that what I preach'd a *Sermon*,you by tranſlating whatever I have ſaid of *falſe Prophets* to the *Parliament*,have with the dexterity of a falſification, tranſformed and changed into a *Libell*. This I do not wonder at, when I remember what the *Phyſitian* was,who ſaid,that where the *Recipient* is *diſtempered*,the moſt wholſome food turns into his diſeaſe; juſt as we ſee in thoſe harmfull creatures,whoſe whole *eſſence* and *compoſition* is made up of *ſting* and *poyſon*,the juice which they ſuck from *flowers* and *roſes*, concocts into *venome* and *becomes poyſon* too. Having ſaid this by way of *Preface* to my following *Reply*, firſt,Sir, (confining my ſelf to your *method*) how you ſpend your morning thoughts, being impoſſible for me outright to know,unleſs your thoughts were either viſible or you tranſparent; I deſire you wil not think me over-curious,if I open a door upon you,and proceed by conjecture.You ſay,you uſe to *ſpend them upon a better ſubject then a pot of dead drink that hath a little froth at top,and dregs at bottome*. To what paſſage of my *Letter* this refers, or why a *language* which I do not underſtand,ſhould poſſeſs the *porch* & *entrance* to *yours*, I am not *Oedipus* enough to *unriddle*. But if I may gueſs what your *morning thoughts were*, when (as you confeſs) you did *let them looſe* by your *pen* to diſcharge themſelves upon me in a ſhower of *rude,untheologicall, flat, downright detraction*, though they were not employ'dupon a *frothy ſubject*, yet they ſhew that you were at that time in *his diſtemper* in the *Goſpel*, a piece of whoſe *raging* and *diſtraction* 'twas to *ſome at mouth*.

Next Sir, had I been preſent at your *Sermon*,(as I am glad I was not, for I deſire not to be an *Auditor* where I muſt hear my ſelf *libelled* from the *pulpit*) I ſhal eaſily grant, by the *taſte* which you have given me in this *ſhort Conference* with you of the perſpicuity of your *ſtile*, and the

clearneſs

clearneſs of your *matter*, that 't was poſſible enough for me not to *underſtand it*. I doe, therefore, acknowledge it as a *favour* from you, that you will let me no longer wander in uncertainties, or write to you upon the *miſ-report* of a *fallible Intelligencer*; but will *your ſelfe* be my *Clue* to guide me to what you ſaid. Which *favour*, you have much *heightned*, by robbing your *weightier employments* of ſo much *time* to convey it in, as might have been ſpent in providing your ſelfe to preach *thrice a day*, and yet not doe it ſo *haſtily*, or with ſuch a *running negligence*, as to be thought to preach but *once a week*.

As for your *Text*, and the *Doctrine* built upon it, at whom ſoever it was *ſhot*, I ſhall not quarrell with it. But how your *Corollary* ſhould concern any thing that I have ſaid in my *Sermon* contrary to your *Doctrine*, I cannot poſſibly *imagine*; who do there onely ſpeak of the *vanity* of ſome of our *Modern Prophets*, who can ſee *Idolatry in a Church-window*: And do onely ſtrive to prove that for *people* to refrain the *Church* (as you know who did) becauſe *ſome* (though perhaps not of *our age*) paid *worſhip* to the *windowes*, was a fear as unreaſonable as *theirs* was, who refuſed to go to *Sea*, becauſe there was a *Painter* in the *City* who *limn'd ſhipwracks*.

Sir, had you a minde to deal *pertinently* or *ingenuouſly* with me, you would witneſs for me, that though I ſpeak in defence of the *Ornamentall uſe* of *Images*, yet I in no paſsage of my *Sermon* do defend any *Image* or *pourtraicture* made of the *Deity*. Sir, 'tis not your ſaying, That *no picture can be made of God, becauſe there is nothing like him in Heaven or Earth*, or the following *proofs* of your *letter* (which I conceive to be a *piece* of your *Sermon* at *St. Maries*, which becauſe I came not to *it*, you in charity have ſent home to *me*) that perſwades me that any ſuch *picture* is *unlawfull*: *Nature*, as well as the numerous places of *Scripture*, which you have quoted to prove that which I never yet denied, have long ſince taught me, that to *make*, or *draw* any *picture*, or *Image of God* is not onely a *breach* of the *ſecond Commandement*, which is built upon the *inviſibility* of his *Eſſence*, and *Nature*, but that the *Attempt* would be much more *vain*, then if a *Painter* ſhould endeavour to limn a *ſoul* or *minde*, which not affording any *Idea*, or *reſemblance* to his *fancy* to be taken by, cannot poſſibly by him

be expreſt in *Colours*. The Task, therefore, to make any *Draught* or *Figure* of *God* (pray Sir, being miſled by *your example*, do not think me ſuperfluous in my purſuit of an *Argument*, to which I was not bound to *reply*) is (beſides the *ſinfulneſs* of it) much more impoſſible. For, *Firſt*, Sir, if the *School-men* (which I hear you once ſaid you had long ſtudied to little purpoſe) may be *Judges*, He cannot be *lima'd* or *drawn*, becauſe he is a *Spirit*: Therefore not capable to be repreſented by any *groſs*, *materiall Thing*. *Next*, becauſe He is *Infinite*; and therefore not capable to fall under *Symmetry*, or be circumſcribed within the *finite lines* which ſtream from a *Painters pencill*. Thirdly, becauſe He is *Simple*, that is, (as *your Schoolmen* ſay, for you know Sir, I am but an *Engliſh poet*) *All* in *All*, and *All* in *every part*: Or, in other *Termes*, a Thing entirely *uniform*, and *indiviſible* within it ſelf, which admits not of any falſe *repreſentation* of it ſelf by *limbs* or *parts*. Laſtly, Sir, (becauſe I will not be tedious, and go over all his other *Attributes*) who ſhall *paint* his *Omniſcience*, who his *Omnipotence*, who his *Eternity*, who his *Ubiquity*? Knowing this Sir, and much more of him (not by the Help of a *borrowed Illumination*) I could not treſpaſſe ſo much againſt my own *ſtudies*, and *Conſcience* as to allow of any *picture* of *God*. And therefore, in this particular, challenging me, (as you *impertinently* do) to *produce my ſtrong reaſons, and overthrow*, if I can, your *Doctrine*, or *Corollary*, *deduced from Eſay* 40. 25. where God by his Prophet ſayes, *To whom will ye liken me, or ſhall I be equall ſaith the Holy One?* You would fain have me be your *Adverſary* in an *undefenſible Cauſe*, that your *conqueſt* of me might be the eaſier. In ſhort, you would have me profeſs my ſelfe to be an *Anthropomorphite*, that you might have the advantage to confute me for an *Hexetike*.

Sir, ſince you deny that you ſaid in your *Sermon*, that I made *Images equall with God* (which if you had ſaid, my *Sermon* without any new confutation, would have *diſproved* you) I am in that particular *ſatisfied*, and ſhall think it was, though not a *wilfull* one, yet a *miſtake* in the *reporter*. But, then, Sir, I muſt tell you, that I am not at all *ſatisfied* with that which followes. Where you ſay, that *Images are not like unto God*, and *Thereupon wonder that I took upon me to plead for the retaining of thoſe Images which have been*

too

too often turned into Idols, not by the piety, but ſuperſtition of former times: For here, Sir, if I would take the advantage of *expreſsion* not well conſidered, upon you, in ſaying that *Images are not like unto God*, and *thereupon* that I did ill to plead for the retaining of other *Images* not of *God*, a *Sophiſter* would make the world believe, that you think all *Images* ſuperſtitious, and therefore fit to be baniſht out of the *Church*, but onely ſuch *Images* as are *made of God*; which would expoſe you to the *opinion* of being thought very ſubject to ſpeak *contradictions*. But being a *meer poet*, Sir, whoſe *ability*, you know, lies not in making uſe of *Ariſtotles Elenchs*, but in the *ſoft, harmleſs compoſure* of an *Elegie* or *Ode*, I ſhall deal more gently with you; That is, take you in the moſt *advantagious ſenſe* which you poſſibly, upon your better *morning thoughts* can put to *your words*; & believe, that the fault you finde with me for the *retainment* of *Images*, is, becauſe by the *ſuperſtition* of *former times* they have been turn'd into *Idols*. Sir, if I be not deceiv'd, my *Sermon*, in this *particular*, is able to ſave me the labour of a *reply*. Where I have once for all ſaid that which you wil never be able to controul (how *poetically* (that is *not dully*) ſoever you may think it expreſt) that by the ſame reaſon that *Ornaments* are to be turn'd out of the *Church*, becauſe ſome out of a *miſ-guided devotion* have *adored* them, we ſhould not have a *Sun*, or *Moon*, or *Starres* in the *firmament*, but they ſhould long ſince have been baniſht the *skies*, becauſe ſome of the *deluded Heathen worſhipt* them. The *little fallacy* with which you think to entrap me, when you ſay, that *hence you collect that I will be forced to maintaine that Images are as neceſſary in the Church, as the Sunne in the Firmament*, will expire, like all other *thin Sophiſmes*, in *vanity* & *ſmoke*, when I have ſhewn the *weakneſs* and *infirmity* of it, which will be briefly done by repeating onely the *ſenſe* of my *Sermon* in *other words*, and ſaying, that if *Images* doe *agree* with the *Sunne*, in that they have both been made *Idols*, though *one* be no *neceſſary part* of the *Church*, and the *other* be a *neceſſary part* of the *building* of the *world*, yet if for that *reaſon* wherein they *agree*, *one* muſt be *baniſht*, any man that hath *Logick* (though he be a *Poet*) may inferre, that 't will be as reaſonable that the *other* ſhould be *baniſht* too.

In your next *Paragraph*, or *fardell of I know not what*, you ſay

that *I plead for Copes*, and *for those parts of the Common-Prayer-booke which were borrowed from Rome*: And then *confute* me with the *threats* of an *ere-long Visitation*. Sir, there is neither *Logick*, nor *School-Divinity* in this. As for *Copes*, you know I joyne them with *Surplices* in my *Sermon*; and say that by the same *reason* that the *false Prophets* of *our times* would perswade the *people that Surplices are unlawfull because Papists weare them*, they may endeavour to perswade them, that *Linnen* is also *unlawfull*, because *Papists shift*; and so conclude *Cleanlineſs* to be as *superstitious* as *Surplices* or *Copes*. Sir, you may call this *Poetry*, but there is a *Logick* in it, which I hope doth not cease to be *Logick*, which you cannot *resist*, because 'tis not *watrishly* or *flegmatickly* expreſt. As for those *parts* of the *Common-Prayer-booke*, which I doe not say were *borrowed* from *Rome*, (as you impose upon me) but are to be found in the *Rubrick* of the *Church*: if I had said they had been *borrowed* from that *Church*, yet *you* have said nothing to prove, that upon *this supposition* 'tis *Popery* to use those *Prayers* in *Ours*. Foreseeing, I beleeve, that if you had offered to maintaine that what ever is in the *Popish Lyturgie* is *Popery*, that is, *superstitious*, and fit to be *proscribed* out of the *Church*, you would (meeting with a *good Disputant*, and one not addicted to *Poetry*) have been compelled to confeſs, that the *Lords Prayer*, and *Davids Psalmes* are *Popery* too, (though the one were delivered by *Christ*, the other by *one* who lived long before *Antichrist*) because they are bound up in the same *volumne* with the *Masse*. Sir, if this be your *Logick*, 'tis *Socrate ambulante coruscavit*, and will be a *false fire* to lead you for ever out of the way. But here, Sir, though I need not take the paines to *confute* the *Nothings* you have said against me, in *this particular*, yet whenever you shal call upon me to make good my *undertaking*, I doe promise to make it evident to you, that all the *ancient parts* of the *Common-Prayer-booke*, which I *plead* for, I doe not plead for because they are used by the *Church* of *Rome*, but because they were part of the *Lyturgie* of those *Churches* which were thought *primitively pure*, and not *superstitious*, and were in the world long before *Popery*, or *Antichrist* was borne. I must, therefore, for ought you have yet said to alter my *opinion*, still stand to my *former conclusion*; which is, that by the *same reason* that either the *whole*, or *any*

part

part of our *Comon-Prayer-Book* is to be *turned* out of the *Church*, becauſe in *ſome things* it agrees with the *Lyturgie* of the *Church* of *Rome*, *Italy*, and *Rome* it ſelf is to be *turned* out of the *world*, (& ſo a *new Map* to be made of it where theſe *places* are not) becauſe they are the *Popes Territories*, and lye under his *juriſdiction*. Laſtly, Sir, as for the *Viſitors* you *threaten* both *me* and *Chriſt-Church* withall, (of *whom* ſome *report* that *you* are *one*) when you come to *execute* your *Commiſſion*, ſo you will not urge it as a *Topicke* to *convince* my *underſtanding*, but as a *Delegacy* of *power* to *examine* my *ſtudies*, *life*, and *manners*, I ſhall bring all the *ſubmiſſion* with me which can be expected from *one* ſubject to the *tryall* and *examination* of ſuch a *power*. Being withall very confident, that when *that time* comes, however you may perhaps finde an *old Cope* or *two* in our *Colledge*, yet you will never bring *Logick* enough with you to prove, that they are either *Idolatrous*, or have been put to a *ſuperſtitious* uſe. And therefore, Sir, in this *particular* you have loſt your *friendly counſell*, there being no need at all that we ſhould *againſt that time ſtudy for an Anſwer*.

In your next *Faſcicle*, you ſay, that I maintaine that *ſome things in the Excellency, and Height of the Doctrines of Chriſtian Religion depend for their credit, and the Evidence of their Truth, upon the Authority of Chriſts Miracles convey'd along in Tradition, and Story*; And, therefore, conclude that my *Religion leanes too hard, and too heavy upon Tradition*. Sir, though I have alwayes lookt upon the *Scriptures* of the *Old Teſtament* and the *New*, as two *glorious lumpes*, which to all *eyes* (that have not loſt the uſe of *ſeeing*, by being kept *ſequeſtred* from the *ſunne* too long in the *darke*) mutually give *light* to *one another*, ſo that a *vigilant Reader*, by comparing *Prophecies* with their *Accompliſhments*, will have very great *reaſon* to beleeve that both are *true*, yet becauſe this amounts but to the *diſcourſes* and *perſwaſions* of a *ſingle mans reaſon*, if I prefer *Tradition*, which is the *conſtant, univerſall conſent of all Ages*, as a *fuller medium* to prove *doctrines by* which are hardly *otherwiſe demonſtrable*, doe I any more, I pray, then prefer the *univerſall Teſtimony*, and *Report* of the *Church* of all *Times*, before the more *fallible ſuggeſtions* of a *private ſpirit*?

Your next *Paragraph*, is perfectly the *Hydra* with *repullulating Heads* which I warned you of in my *firſt Letter*; And multiplies

ſo many *cauſeleſs queſtions* as make it nothing but a *heape*, partly of ſuch *doubts*, partly of *untruths*, as would make it one of *Hercules labours* to *examine* them. Firſt, you bid me *prove that Chriſt hath put the ſole power of Ordination in the hand of a Prelate.* Sir, if the *practice* of the *Apoſtles* in the *Scripture* in this *point* were not cleare, yet the *practice* and *opinion* of the *Church* for 1500 yeeres ought to be of too great *Authority* with you to make this a *ſcruple.* Knowing that no *Church* in the world thought otherwiſe, till the *Preſbyterian Modell* crept forth of *Calvins fancie*; nor any *good Proteſtant* in the *Church of England*, till ſuch as *you* recalled *Aerius* from his *grave*, and *Duſt* to oppoſe *Biſhops.* Next, you bid me *juſtifie, that no Church that ever the ſunne looke upon hath beene more bleſt with purity of Religion for the Doctrines of it, or better eſtabliſht for the Government, and Diſcipline of it, then the Church of England hath.* Sir, you repeat not the words of my *Sermon* ſo faithfully as you ſhould. I am not ſo *extravagant* as to ſay, that *no Church that ever the Sunne looke upon*, but that the *Sun in all his heavenly courſe for ſo many, many yeeres*, that is, (in my *ſenſe*) for *many Ages*, ſaw not a *purer Church* then *ours* was, both for the *Doctrines*, and *Diſcipline* of it. Againſt this you wildly object, I know not what *Doctrines publiquely countenanced*, but tell me not what theſe *Doctrines* were, ſpeake of certaine *ſuperſtitious practices*, and *Prelaticall uſurpations*, but doe not prove them to be either *ſuperſtitious*, or *uſurpt*; quartell with the *Delegation of Biſhops power to Chancellors*, then proceed to the *tyrannie of the High-Commiſſion-Court*, and at laſt conclude with I know not what *Imaginary corruptions and Innovations introduced into the State, Church, and Univerſity.* Sir, if I ſhould grant this *long-winded Charge* of yours to be true, (as truly I think it is onely a *ſeeing of vanity*) yet my *confident Aſſertion* is not hereby *enfeebled.* I hope, when I ſpoke of the *purity of our Church* you did not think I freed it from all *blemiſhes* or *ſpots.* The *Primitive Church* it ſelfe had *ſome* in it who broacht *ſtrange doctrines*; Saint *John* had not elſe written his *Goſpell* againſt the *Gnoſticks*, nor Saint *Paul* his Epiſtle to the *Galatians* againſt thoſe that held the *neceſſity of Circumciſion.* The *next Ages* of the *Church* have not been more diſtinguiſht by their *Martyrs*, then *Heretiques*; yet the *Primitive Church* ceaſed not to be *Apoſtolically pure*, becauſe it had a *Cerinthus*,

rinthus, or *Nicolaitans* in it; nor the succeeding *Churches* to be the *Spouse* of *Christ*, because *one* brought forth an *Apelles*, *another* a *Marcion*, a *third* a *Nestorius*, a *fourth* an *Eutiches*, a *fift* an *Arius*. Sir, as long as the best *Church* in the world consists of men not *infallible* there will be *errors*. But then you must not charge the *Heterodox opinions* or *Doctrines* of *particular men*, though perhaps, *countenanced* by *some* in *publique authority* upon the *Church*. Besides, Sir, every *Innovation* is not necessarily a *Corruption*, unless it *displace*, or lay an *Ostracisme* upon some other *thing* more *worthy* and *better* then it *selfe*. *You* your selfe say, that the *corruptions* introduced were brought in by a *prevailing faction*, *who were not the Church*. If they were not, my *Assertion* holds good, that notwithstanding such *corruptions*, yet our *Church* in its time was the *purest Church* in the world. This, then, being so, me thinks, Sir, you in your *pursuit* of *Reformation*, by making *Root & Branch* your *Rule* of proceeding, have beene more *severe* then the *lawes* of *right Reason* will allow you. If there were such a tyrannie as you speake of streaming it selfe from the *High Commission Court*, why could not the *tyrannie* be *suppresst*, without the *abolishment* of the *Court*? Or if there were such a thing as *Prelaticall usurpation*, why could not the *usurpations* be taken away, and *Episcopacie* left to *stand*? Sir, if you be *Logician* enough to be able to distinguish betweene the *faults* of *persons* and the *sacredness of functions*, you cannot but pronounce with me, that to *extirpate* an *order* of the *Church*, *ancient* as the *Christian Church it selfe*, and made *venerable* by the *never-intevrupted Reception* of it in all the *Ages* of the *Church* but *ours*, for the *irregular carriage* of a *Prelate* or *two*, (if any *such* have beene among us) is a *course* like *theirs*, who thought there was no way left to reforme *drunkenness* in their *State*, but utterly to *root up*, and *extirpate*, and *banish Vines*.

The *remainder* of your *Paragraph* is very *politically* orderd; which is, that because you finde it hard for you to *confute* my *Sermon* by *your Arguments*, you will endeavour to make the *Parliament* my *Adversary*, who, you thinke, are able to *confute* it by *their power*: And bid me prove that *the proceedings of the Parliament are Turkish*.

Here, Sir, methinks, being a *Poet*, I see a piece of *Ben Johnson's* best *Comedy*, the *Fox*, presented to me; that is, *you*, a *Politique*

Would-

Would-be the *ſecond*, ſheltring your ſelf under a *capacious Tortoiſe-ſhell*. Why, Sir, can you perſwade *your ſelfe* that the *great Councell* of the *Kingdome*, by *whom* you are imployed, if they will vouchſafe to *reade* my *Sermon*, will not preſently diſcerne your *Art?* And withall perceive, that though the *Text*, upon which I, out of the *Integrity* of my *ſoule*, preacht that *Sermon*, ſtick as cloſe to *Falſe Prophets*, as the *Centaures ſhirt* did to *Hercules*, and ſet them a *raging*, yet that they having never *Parliamentarily* profeſt to *propagate Religion by their ſpeare*, can no way be concerned, when I ſay that *ſuch a perſwaſion in us Chriſtians would be Mahumetan*; and we thereby ſhould *tranſlate a piece of the Alckoran into a piece of the Goſpel*. Sir, I am ſo confident of the *wiſdome* of that *Honourable Aſſembly*, of my owne *innocent meaning*, and of *your guilt*, (who have beene *one* of thoſe *Turkiſh Prophets*, (and in your *Letter* to me ſtill are) who have preacht that *piece* of the *Alckoran* for *good doctrine*) that for anſwer to all your *ſlye, impotently-malicious miſ-applications* and *ſhiftings* off that which I have ſaid onely of *ſuch* as *your ſelfe* to the *Parliament*, I ſhall onely appeale to my *Sermon*. And by *that*, if you pleaſe to undertake the *Devils part*, and be my *Accuſer*, ſhall be content to *ſtand* or *fall*. In the meane time, Sir, I muſt repeat what I ſaid before, that if it be read, or lookt on through thoſe *refractions*, with which you have *miſ-ſhap'd*, and *crookt* it, I ſhall conſent to what you ſay in the end of your *filthy Paragraph*; That 'twas *once* a *Sermon*, but *you* almoſt *à Carceribus uſq; ad metam* have made it a *Libell*.

In your *next* (what ſhall I call it?) you are very *Critically pleaſant*; And becauſe I talke of a *Religion* wherein I was *borne*, aske me, whether I were *borne in a Surplice*, or *Cope*; and then very *diſtinguiſhingly* proceed, and ſay, *Chriſtiani non naſcuntur, ſed fiunt*.

To the firſt, I reply, that it had been as *unnaturall* for *me* to be *borne* in a *Surplice*, or *Cope*, as for *you* to come into the world, with a *little Geneva ſet-ruffe* about your neck.

Next, Sir, for your *ſharpe diſtinction*, I hope, though the *Muſes* be your *Step-dames*, yet you thinke not the *figures* of *Rhetorick* to be ſo *ſuperſtitious*, that it ſhall be *Popery* in *me*, to make uſe of a *Metonymy*, and to expreſs my ſelfe by the *Adjunct*, when I mean the *place*, and *Country*. I grant, Sir, that men are not *borne*, but re-

re-born Christians; yet 'twill be no great *Errour* in *speech* for a man to say he is *born* in *Christianity*, if he be a *Christian*, and were *born* in the *place* where *Christianity* is *establish'd*. Sir, I doubt you begin to think *secular learning* to be a *profane thing*; And that you are bound to persecute *Tropes* out of *Expression*, as you have *Liturgy* out of the *Church*. If you do, Sir, we shall in time, (if we proceed in this *conflict*) fulfill a *peece* of one of Saint *Paul's Epistles* between us; I become a *Barbarian to you*, and *you to me*.

I am glad to hear you say, That *the Parliament will not suppress the true Protestant Religion*; Sir, I never thought they would. But, then 'twill be no harm to *you*, if I pray, That whilst you *pursue* such a *through Reformation* of it, as of late years hath left it doubtfull in the *minds* of the *people* what the *true Protestant Religion* is, you set not in *Popery* at that *Gate*, by which they strive to shut it out. If *Queen Maries* dayes do once more break in upon us through the *sluce* which we open to them by our *unsetledness*, and *Distractions*, and if I *then fall a sacrifice* in *defence* of the same *Religion* for which I now contend, I hope you then will think your self *confuted*; And no longer beleeve that I am such an *ill Judge* of *Religions*, or so profusely prodigall of my *life*, that I would make it a *Holocaust*, or *Oblation*, either to *Tyranny*, or *Popery*.

In short, Sir, let the *King* and *Parliament* agree to *burn Copes*, and *Surplices*, to *throw away the Common-Prayer-Book*, or to *break* our *Windows*, I shall not place so much *Religion* in them, as not to think them *alterable*, and this done by *Right Authority*. But as for the *Covenant*, 'tis a *pill*, Sir, which no *secular interest* can so sweeten to me, that I should think my self obliged to be so far of *any mans Religion*, as to swallow both parts of a contradiction in an Oath, if it appear to me to be such.

Your promise that my *Sermon* should be first *confuted before it be burnt*, gives me hope it will be *longer liv'd*, then upon the first report I thought it would. But then I wonder you should passe that sentence on it, and choose *Paræus* for your *precedent*. I must confesse to you Sir, had I written so destructively of *Parliaments* as *He* did of *Kings*, I should think it no *injustice* from that *High Court*, if they should doom *me* the *Author* to be *sacrificed* on the same *Altar* with *my Book*. But having (upon the *highest warrant* that can possibly lend *courage* to a *good action*) directed it wholy against

False Prophets, and no where reflected upon the *Members* of either *House*, but where I maintain it to be unlawfull to *speak evill of dignities*, to condemn it to the *flame* for speaking such *Truths*, as I could not leave *unspoken*, unlesse I had *prevaricated* with the *Scripture*, will be so far from the *reproach* of a *punishment*, that 'twill encrease the *esteem* and *value* of it from its *sufferings*; and make it ascend to heaven as the *Angel* in the *Book* of *Judges* did, in the *breath*, and *ayre*, and *perfume* of an acceptable *sacrifice* to *God*.

Sir, As your *she-Disciple* did very much *mis-inform* you, if *she* told you that I endeavoured to *incense an Officer of this Garrison against you*, so 'twas one *Errour* more in her (as upon just occasion I shall demonstrate to you) to tell you that I *vented damnable Doctrines* in her Company, *which I was not able to maintain*. *She* is my *Gentle Adversary*, and I desire *she* should know, that as I desire not to fight *serious duells* with that *unequall Sex*, so when ever *she* will again provoke me to a *Dispute* (so it be not at Saint *Maries*, for S. *Paul* forbids *Women* to argue in the *Church*) *she* shall return with *prizes*, and I will confess my self *conquer'd*. In the mean time, Sir, whither *she* came to *you*, or *you* went to *her*, Her *Sex* puts me in mind of some *false Teachers*, not *mention'd* in my *Sermon*, but *branded* by
2 Tim 3.6 Saint *Paul*,* for *creeping into houses*, and *leading captive silly Women*. If your *Intelligencer* be one of these (as I shrewdly suspect *she* is) I should be sorry for those *Friends* sake in whose Acquaintance we *both* meet, that *she* should be lyable to the *Character* of such *silly Women* in the next *verse*; where 'tis said, *That they were ever learning and never able to come to the knowledge of the Truth*.

You proceed, and say, *That you were in manifest Danger to loose your Right to the Exercise of the Protestant Religion, whereupon the High Court of Parliament thought it fit to repell force by force*. Sir, do not entertain me with your own *false fears*, and *jealousies*; but *demonstrate* to me that the *King* (for *Him* I presume you mean) meant to *extirpate* the true *Protestant* Religion by the *sword*, and to plant *Popery* in its stead; And you shall not more *falsely* charge me that I make the *Parliament* by such a *Resistance* to *Denizon* the *Alchoran*, then I shall *truely* pronounce the *Kings party*, in *fighting* for him to *that end*, guilty of a *Mahumetan perswasion*. In saying this, you exceedingly mistake me if you think I contend for a *Vonitian Liberty*, or am hereby a *Friend to the Rebels in Ireland*. Sir, I hope

you

you can distinguish between mens *Disloyalty* and *Religion*. As *Rebels* I hold it fit, if they will not otherway return to their *Alleagance*, that they be reduced by *force*. There is a *right* to their *subjection* pursued by such a *War*, which makes all *Armes* warrantable which are imploy'd for the recovery of such a *losse*. But to think, that as they are *Papists*, nay, (Sir, I shall not shrink from my word) if they were outright *Infidels*, that the *Protestant Religion* is to be imposed upon them by *force*, is to make our selves *guilty* of all the *hard Censures* which have past upon the *Spaniards Conquest* of the *Indians*, where their *Silver Mines* were the true cause, and *Religion* the *pretence*. Notwithstanding your *Holy War*, therefore, mention'd in the *Revelation* (which place I have considered, and find it as *mysterious* as the *pale* or *black Horse*) for ought you have said in *disproof* of it, I find not my self tempted to desert my *Opinion*: which is, *That to come into the field with an Armed Gospel, is not the Way chosen by Christ to make Proselytes*. And, therefore Sir, I will not so much distrust the *Wisdome*, or *Justice* of the *Parliament*, that upon your *bare Assertion, they will make me miserable*, because I maintain that they cannot *warrantably compell* any man to be *happy*.

Why the bare mention of your *Scruple-house* should put you into such a *fit* of *ill language*, as to pronounce me *unworthy to carry the Books of the Reverend Divines after them*, who met there to heal *Doubts*, or why my *Carfax-Sermon* should contribute to the *raging* of *that fit*, I cannot reasonably imagine. Sir, I have no mind to fight many *Duells* at *Once*; nor, (having received a *challenge* from no other but *your self*) to ingage my self with *them* by *whom* I have not been *provok't*.

Whither they be *ungifted preachers*, or *Gifted Disputants*, is best known to themselves. But, certainly, Sir, if the Report which was made to me (by *some* who brought both their *understandings* as well as *Eares* with them to the *famous meeting November* 12.) be true, there was *nothing* so *demonstratively* by them either *objected*, or *replyed*, as might incourage *them*, or their *Hearers*, to beleeve this *peece* of *Popery*, that they are *unerring*, and *infallible* in the *chair*: pray, Sir, do not think my *Famous pride*, or *self-conceitedness* (which you say hath *provoked* you to *break* your *chaines*, and *to let loose your pen*, that you might *whip* me into *Humility*) hath prompted me to say this.

Had you named the *Reverend persons whose Books I am not worthy to carry after them*, so they be *Greek* or *Latine Books*, and *those* well understood by them, perhaps I should have expreſt a greater *Act* of *Humility* then you are aware of, and have been content (though one of the *new Doctors* yet by the *second Subscription* of your *Letter* but a *Master of Art*) to sit a while at the *feet* of such *learned Gamaliel's*. But speaking *indefinitely* as you do, I hope Sir, for twenty years *study* sake in this *University*, (where I have learnt to distinguish the *letters* of the *Greek Alphabet*, and at first sight do know that it would beget a *Sixt commotion*, or *quarrell* among the *Vowells*, if ω in a *word* should usurp the place of ο) you will find me a *nobler imployment* then to *carry Books* after *Them* who count *Libraries Superfluous*, *humane*, *Secular* Things; And think a *Minister*, not *Minister of Gospel*, (as your *Scribe* hath *twice* erred in the *transcription* of your *letter*, in a *vowell* very *fatall* to you) needs no other *furniture* but the *Spirit*, *Cottons Concordance*, and the *English Bible* without the *Apocrypha*.

Sir, I am sorry the *Fit* which the *mention* of the *Scruple-house* did put you into, should be *increased* by the *mention* of a *Dark Roome*. There goes a Story of *one* who had *tasted* a while of *Bedlam*, and was at length, by the help of *Discipline*, *diet*, and *Physick*, cured of his *Distraction*; yet not so perfectly, but that still when he came within the sight of the place, his *fancy* remembred him of his *old Distemper*, and tempted him to do something which required a *second cure*. I speak not this *parable* to upbraid any with an *infirmity* which is unavoydably *naturall* to them, and no way contracted from the *pride*, or *irregularity* of their own *Wills*; But if you have read *Tully's Paradoxes*, you may remember, Sir, that *he* there maintains the *Opinion* of the *Stoicks*, that not onely *they* whose *chaines* and *fetters*, proclaim them *distempered*, but that all *foolish*, over *passionate* men are to be reckoned into the number of those who are to be *cured* by *manacles*, and *chaynes*: pray Sir, do not take it ill, if (being as you say a *Poet*) I cite a *Poet* who was of this *Opinion*; but maintains it like a *Philosopher*, (I will not say a *School Divine*.) And having insulted in *verse* upon *Covetousness* as *one*, *Ambition* as *another*, The *love* of *beauty* either in *reall* or *painted faces*, as *another Species* of *Madness*, He concludes in *Anger*, (and sayes, *Ira furor brevis est*; that is, That the *Cholerick man*, during the *fit* of his *choler*, is

in

in a *short phrenzy*. That which *Seneca*, *Tully*, and *Horace*, called *madneſs*, (though not the *other more naturall*, (which I ſhould be *uncharitable* to object to you) *you* by this *letter* (eſpecially the *angry part* of it) have given me very juſtifiable cauſe to apply to you, who (as all *diſpaſſionated men* may judge) have fulfill'd the *Poets definition* of *Madneſs* upon *your ſelf* in *all* the *parts* of it but *one*, which is, that your *Anger* againſt me is not *furor Brevis*, a *ſhort diſtraction*, but extends from the word *Scruple-houſe* to the *End* of your *Letter*. For firſt, Sir, in Language almoſt as *unclean*, as the ſin of uncleanneſs it ſelf, you endeavour to raiſe a *Suſpition* upon me in the world as if I had been more *familiar* then I ſhould with *light Women in dark Roomes*: Sir, beſides the *poverty* of *your wit*, and *quibling Antitheſes* of *Expreſſion*, (to which I finde you in other places of your *letter* very *ſubject*) I am not afraid (with all the *confidence* of an *Innocent man*) to tell you, That as I never was an *Enemy* to that *Sex*, ſo I never converſt with any of them *ſingle*, or in a *dark Congregation*, ſo *looſely*, to deſerve to have the *ſlander* faſtned upon me, which *Tertullian*, and *Minutius Felix* from him, ſay was laboured to be ſtuck upon the *Chriſtians* of thoſe *Times*, which was, That they uſed to meet in *Conventicles*, where their cuſtome was, after the *end* of the *Sermon*, to put out the *Candles*, and then to commit *Folly*, the *holy* with the *holy*. Sir, in plain Termes, (How *blameable* ſoever other *Errours*, or *vanities* of my *life* may make me ſtand in the preſence of *God*, who upon a *true Repentance*, Sir, is not ſo *Fatally* tyed to the *Spindle* of *abſolute Reprobation*, as not to keep his *promiſe*, and to ſeal *merciſull pardons*, yet) in this *particular*, my *known Converſation* in this *Univerſity*, and all other *places*, bids me *defie* you; And challeng not only your ſelf, but the *preciſeſt* of your *Informers*, either *heer*, or *any where* elſe, (who uſe not to ſuffer the *looks*, *Geſtures*, or thoughts of any who are not of their *Tribe*, much leſs *notorious matter of Fact*, to ſcape *unqueſtioned*) to appear in an *accuſation* againſt me; where it ſhall be *probably*, not *conjecturally* proved, that I have been *frail* with the *frail Sex* either *holy* or *profane*.

Sir, all they of that *ſoft Sex*, with whom I have converſt, have accuſed me of too great *ſeverity*, and *ruggedneſs*, towards them, but *you* are the *firſt*, who ever endeavoured to make me guilty of being too *amorouſly affected*.

Next, ſir, However you may tell me that you *have not ſo loſt your Reaſon, or Logick, but that you, (the meaneſt who appears for the Parliament) are ready to take up the Gauntlet which I threw down, and to anſwer the challenge which I firſt ſounded in the Pulpit*; yet, certainly, They who ſhall read that *paſſage* of my *Sermon*, where I ſay, *That if I were preſently to enter into a diſpute with the greateſt Patriarch among theſe Prophets*, who (notwithſtanding that which I ſaid before) *will ſtill perverſly ſtrive to prove that our Church ſtood in ſuch need of Reformation, that the growing ſuperſtitions of it could not poſſibly be expiated, but by ſo much Civill War, I ſhould not doubt with modeſty enough to prove to him back again, that all ſuch irrationall Arguments, as have onely his zeal for their Logick are compoſed of untemper'd Morter*: And ſhall compare the *Wilde Torrent* of *ill language*, with which the *furious remainder* of your *paragraph* over-flows, with the *Sober Web*, and *Compoſition* of my *Sermon*, which you there think no worthier of, then of a *Triobolar Ballad*, They will finde that you have ſaid nothing in the *progreſs* of at leaſt *forty Folio-lines* together, which ſhews not that your *Reaſon* aſſiſted not your *pen*. One *paſſage* I confeſſe (like a *lucide Intervall*) hath ſome taſte of *ſobriety*, and not *ſhort fury* in it; *which is*, that how meanly ſo ever you think you may ſpeak of *me*, yet you think you are to make a more honourable mention of the *Author* of the *Practicall Catechiſm*. That *learned Doctor*, Sir, I am acquainted with, but not ſo *inwardly* as that *he* ſhould contribute to the *interlining* any *letter* I write to *you*; or ſhould ſuggeſt to me what *he*, not *I*, think fit to be maintain'd. I wiſh your *lucid intervall* had been as long as your *fit*; For, then I perſwade my ſelf you would never have ſuſpected that *he* did *overlook* my *letter*, or *adviſed me to contend* for the *lawfulneſs* of *Prelacy*, becauſe he was *preſent at the ſad debate at Vxbridge*.

What you mean when you ſay, *That if the learned Doctor hath any thing to object againſt you, He knows your mind, and* (being none of the *new Doctors*, who you preſume are *Infants*) *is able to ſpeak for Himſelf*, I cannot poſſibly divine: unleſs by this *Oraculous Expreſſion*, you would have him underſtand you ready to enter into a *ſecond conflict* with him, and would put *me* to the *mean imployment* to convey your *challenge*. Sir, if I know that Doctor well, you had beſt content your ſelf with *me*, who am a more *poeticall adverſary*; & whoſe *weapons*, you know, when they *ſtrike* moſt, being ſheath'd in

Roſes

Roſes, ought to be *terrible* to *none* but *ſuch*, whoſe *buying* & *ſelling Conſciences* (like the *money-changers* in the *Goſpel*) wil drive them out of the *Temple* at the ſight of a *whip* made of *ſtraws* and *ruſhes*. Nevertheleſs, Sir, if you be ſo *fruitfully quarrelſome*, that you think your *leiſure* will ſerve you to hold combate with us *both*, let me deſire you to hold this Opinion of *us*, that as I ſhal at no time *recruit* my ſelf frō *him* as an *Oratour*, ſo *he* is too good a *ſchollar* to need my *aſſiſtance* as a *Poet*. This word *Poet*, I do obſerve, through the whole *phrenzy* of your *letter*, you ſtrive to make uſe of in a *diſgraceful ſenſe*; And object it to me as a *Reproach* that the *Muſes* are my *Friends*. In one place you call me a *Cretian Prophet*, That is, (according to your *Comment*) a *Poet*; In another place you tell me, that *onely the few places of ſcripture which I have miſapplied in my Sermon, can preſerve it from paſſing among the penny-merchandizes of thoſe that ſel Ballads*. In your *next paragraph* (where you challenge me to *diſpute* with you in *Engliſh* at St. *Maries*, as *Mr Lrbury* did) one of your *Arguments* to move me to that *frantick enterprize* is, becauſe I am an *Engliſh Poet*, and *have been not only addicted to Playes, but have ſhuffled my Mother-tongue Verſes, with other Verſes publiſht in more learned languages, in the ſame Book Printed by the Univerſity-Printer*. Firſt, ſir, though the *ungentleneſs* of your *ſtile*, and *Expreſſions*, do ſufficiently teſtifie that neither the *Muſes*, nor *Graces aſſiſted* at your *Birth*, yet I hope you are not ſuch an enemy to *numbers*, to think *poetry Superſtitious*, and therefore to be turn'd with *Imagery* out of the *Church*. If you do, you will compell me to call *Nazianzen* in to my *Ayde*; who, beſides his writing of a *Play* (if *Eraſmus* have not miſnumbred them) hath written thirty thouſand *Heroick*, *Jambick*, *Hendecaſyllable*, *Elegiack*, and other *verſes*. *Tertullian*, Sir, you know hath confuted *Marcion* in *Verſe*; and *Syneſius* thought it as great a glory to be called a *good Poet*, as *ſome* who wrote in *proſe* did to be called *fathers of the Church*. I wil not repeat a *peece* of *Proſper* to you nor tel you what S. *Auſtin* hath ſaid in the praiſ of *Virgil*. To be a *Cretian Prophet*, that is in *your* ſenſe, a *lying Poet*, but in al theirs who underſtand the *firſt C. of Titus*, an *Evil Beaſt*, and a *falſe Prophet*) Is I confeſſe a crime. But then, ſir, as one excellently ſayes in his *Defence of Poeſie*, This is a kind of *Poetry* which belongs to *thoſe* who *lye in proſe* as wel as *thoſe* who *fain in Verſe*. For *Pliny*, when he ſpeaks of *men* with *one foot*, whoſe *breadth* interpoſed between them and the *ſun*, ſhades their *whole body*, to be as great a *poet* as *Ovid*, when he ſpeaks of

a *Virgin* transformed into a *Laurell*, ſo, Sir, when *you*, (contrary to the direct *minde*, and *Expreſſions* of my *Sermon*) *fain* that to be ſpoken of the *Parliament*, which is onely ſpoken againſt *Falſe Prophets*, you are a far *greater Poet* then I have yet ſhewn my ſelf either upon the *Stage* at *Black-Fryers*, or in any *Univerſity Book* here in *Oxford*. Next, ſir, I was never ſo addicted to *Engliſh Poetry*, but that in the ſame *Univerſity Book* I had *Latine Verſes* too; And the Reaſon why I wrote in *both Languages* was, becauſe I was prompted to it by my *Obedience* to their *Commands*, who had *Authority* over me, and thought *Engliſh* the *fitter Language* for that *part* of the *Court*, whoſe *Sex* doth make it a *Soleciſm* to be written to in *Latine*.

Laſtly, Sir, As for your Arguments to give you one of Mr *Yerbury's Meetings*, at Saint *Maries*; 1. *Becauſe my Sermon Preacht there is Engliſh*, next, *becauſe you conceive that to be the readieſt courſe to undeceive the people who underſtand not Latine*; thirdly, *becauſe I am an Engliſh Poet*; if you think I have not ſufficiently anſwered them in my *two former letters* to you, I deſire you once more to conſider, if I ſhould have conſented to that courſe, whither *you*, as well as *I*, in the opinion of *diſcreet men*, might not have indangered our ſelves to have that *half verſe* in *Horace* applyed to us, *Aut inſanit Homo, aut verſus facit*, That either we are *both mad*, or *both Poets*.

The way to avoyd ſuch an Imputation, in a *Time* of liberty, where every body may ſay what they liſt, is for us to ſtand conſtantly to the more *Academicall Propoſition* I made you; which was, to meet at *Latine Weapons in the Divinity School*. Where, ſir, not *agreeing* upon the *true ſtate of the Queſtions before hand*, (For if we *agree before hand*, nothing will be left us to diſpute) if you pleaſe, the *Queſtion* ſhall be *that* which concludes your *Letter*; That is, *Prelacy*, which, how fat 'tis, or 'tis not to be defended to be *Jure divino* ſhall then appear. In the mean time, ſir, as I can by no means allow that *victory*, and *Succeſs*, are alwayes the *true ſignes* of a *Right cauſe*, (Becauſe, *The Lord of Hoſts*, who, you ſay, *hath broken all our forces*, is ſometimes falſely thought to *aſſiſt*, when in truth he doth only *permit*) ſo, Sir when you write next to me, let me requeſt you to keep your *promiſe*; which is, to deal with me *rationally* for the *Matter*, and *Spiritually*, that is, like a *Divine* for the *language* and *forme*. Otherwiſe, ſir, though I have long ſince learnt from the

beſt

beſt Maſter, that when I am *reviled*, I am not to *revile againe*, yet, inſtead of a *Conference*, meeting with nothing but *Invectives*, 'tis poſſible you may ſo farre provoke me from my *mild temper*, that the *Philoſophers* expreſſion in *Lucians Nigrinus* may be verified upon me; ὅτι οἱ θῆρες τῶν ἀνθρώπων ἥκιστα δάκνουσιν, ἢν αὐτοὶ μὴ πρῶτοι λυπῶσιν. The *Engliſh* of it will endure the *publick teſt*; to which if you will be pleaſed to *ſubmit* your *Letters* with the ſame readineſs that I am content to *ſubmit mine*, I doubt not but the world will judge, that as you have not yet *confuted*, ſo you have very unchriſtianly *injured*

The Author *of the* Sermon
From my Chamber, *againſt* Falſe Prophets,
Jan. 23. 1646. J. MAYNE.

To this *Anſwer* (in which the *Reader* may ſee, I have not much digreſt from the *copy* which was before me, but have proportioned my *Defence* to every conſiderable *particular* of M. *Cheynels* Charge) at the *end* of ſix dayes was return'd this *Reply*.

SIR,

If I had not anſwered you according to your *folly*, you would have been *wiſe* in your *owne conceit*; but if I ſhould againe anſwer you according to *your folly*, I feare I ſhould become too *like* unto you, *Prov.* 26. 4, 5. I told you that I did *let looſe my pen*, that you might ſee how *eaſie* it is to anſwer you with a *running pen*, nay a *running negligence* in the leſs *ſerious part* of the day; I did *let fly* ſo many *quibbles* that you might ſmell the *ſtench* of your owne *elaborate folly*; glad I am that you have *cenſured* me for *imitating* of you, I hope you will now be at leiſure to *cenſure* your *ſelfe*, for *ſetting* me ſo *foule* a *copy*; doe but read over your *owne Sermons* and *Letters*, and ſuppoſe they were *mine*, and then ſeriouſly and impartially paſs your ſentence on them, and I dare ſay you will be a gainer by this *conflict*.

I am very much pleaſed with your faire condeſcenſion to have all things in controverſie *rationally* and *ſpiritually examined*.

1. Sir, you did as I conceive preach in defence of *all images* ſet up in any *Chappell* in the *Univerſity*; you know there are divers *Images* of ſome *perſons* in the *glorious Trinity* ſet up in ſome

Chappels within this *University*: You must then acknowledge *all Images* of that *sort* ought to be *taken downe*.

You are not perswaded by any *Scriptures* which I have cited, but *nature hath taught you* (so pure is your *nature*) *that it is a breach of the second Commandement to draw a picture of God*: (revise that *fancy*) the *Schoolmen* whom you prefer before the *testimonies* cited out of the *Word*, have taught you that it is not onely *sinfull*, but *impossible* to draw any *picture* of *God*. But, be pleased to consider that the *Scriptures* are a *perfect* (nay indeed the *onely All-sufficient perfect*) *Rule*, & therefore you need not goe about to patch up the *rule* with the *low generall dictates of nature* & *Schoolmen*, you may study the *Lullian Art*, & fill your *braine* with *Sebund's fancyes*, but my *Schoole-men* (as you call them) are the *best Tutors*, & the *best Schollars*. If you prove that is is *impossible* to *picture God*, you doe not touch the *point* in *Controversie*, for *vaine men* will fancy and endeavour to doe, that which is *impossible* for to be done. Beleeve it Sir, *they* who had consulted as many *Muses*, and courted as many *Graces* as *you* have done, and were able to *demonstrate* out of their *Poets* that we are *Gods off-spring*, yet were not able without the help of *divine Revelation* to infer, from thence, that the *Godhead is not like to Gold*, as you may see it convincingly proved; *Act* 17. 29. *For as much then as we are the off-spring of God, we ought not to thinke that the Godhead is like to Gold or Silver, or stone graven by Art or mans device*, I dare not therefore make the *Schoolmen* my *Judges* in this *weighty point*, and I beleeve you cannot prove them to be *Judges* in *any point* which concernes the *Mystery* of *faith* or the *power* of *godlinesse*, but enough of that.

3. The word *(thereupon)* is sometimes *Illative*, sometimes *Ordinative*, you are sufficiently *answered*; but let me adde, that if no *Image* is like *God*, then sure those *Images*, which are not made to *represent God*, and yet are by *Idolatours* turned into *Idols*, and worshipped as if they were *divine*, cannot reasonably be *defended*. Sir, I must guess at your *meaning*, because I beleeve you have omitted two or three words *(such is your running negligence)* which should help to make your *sophisticall criticisme* perfect sense.

Truly Sir, if it be so high a fault to *picture God*: I may justly wonder

Imago nos tanùm ut memoriale excitat uti Jesuitæ passim. Dico non esse iam certum in Ecclesiâ an sint faciendæ imagines Dei, sive Trinitatis, quâ Christi & sanctorũ, hoc enim ad fidem pertinet, illud est in opinione. Bella. de imag. l. 2. c. 8 *Inanimata spiritualem quandam virtutem ex consecratione adipiscuntur*, &c. Tho. p. 3. q. 83. art 3. *Deum imaginibus inhabitantẽ colunt, Deum autem virtutẽ istam spiritualẽ retrohere aliquando sive inhibere fatentur.* Cajetanus hac in re nc Gentilibus quidem sapientiùs habetur.

wonder that any *picture* of a *Saint* turned into an *Idoll* ſhould be retained and pleaded for by *any man* that pretends to be a *Proteſtant*, and if it be *impoſsible* to *picture God*, it is alſo *impoſsible* to *picture God-man*. And I beleeve that you will acknowledge our *Mediatour* to be Θεανθρωπος.

4. That the *Sun* and *Images* cannot be put in the *ſcales* of a *compariſon* in point of fitneſs to be *preſerved*, is a truth written with a *Sun-beame*; Sir, I never durſt argue from the *abuſe* of a thing againſt the *uſe* of it, if the thing be *neceſſary*; But the *Sun* is *neceſſary*, and *Images* are *not neceſſary*, *ergo*, there is no parity of reaſon betweene the termes of your *compariſon*.

5. It appeares to me by your *ſhifting fallacy*, that you make *Copes* as *neceſsary* as *clean Linnen*.

6. You will never be able to prove, that all, that the *prelates* and their *Faction* have borrowed out of the *Miſſall*, *Ritualls*, *Breviary Pontificall* of *Rome* are to be found in any *Lyturgie* received by the *Primitive Church*; And I would intreat you to conſider, whether *they*, who doe profeſs a ſeperation from the *Church* of *Rome*, can in reaſon receive and imbrace ſuch *traſh* and *trumpery*. And yet though you would willingly be eſteemed a *Proteſtant*, I find you very unwilling to part with any thing which the *Prelates* have borrowed from the *Court* (rather then *Church*) of *Rome*.

7. Your next *Paragraph* doth concerne *Tradition*; I ſhall give you leave to preferre the *conſtant and univerſall conſent of the Church of Chriſt in all ages, before the reaſon of any ſingle man*; but Sir, you doe very ill to call the *teſtimony* of the *ſpirit ſpeaking* in the *word* to the *Conſcience* of *private men*, a *private ſpirit*; I thinke you are more *profane* in the ſtating of this *point* then *Bellarmine himſelfe*.

8. You have not yet proved that any *Prelate* can challenge the *Sole power of Ordination* and *Juriſdiction Jure divino*.

9. I ſhould be glad to know for how many yeares you will juſtifie the *purity* of the *Doctrine*, *Diſcipline* and *Government* in *England*. I beleeve the *Doctrine*, *Diſcipline* and *Government* of the *Prelaticall faction* whom you call the *Church*, was not *excellent*, if you reckon from 1630. to 1640. and that is *time enough* for men of *our time* for to examine. I beleeve that you will ac-

knowledge, that the *Prelates* did lay an *Ostraciſme* upon *thoſe* who did *oppoſe them*; who were in the right both in the point of *Doctrine* and *Diſcipline*, we ſhall in due time diſpute. Though *Prelacy it ſelfe* be an *uſurpation*, yet there were many other *encroachments* which may juſtly be called *Prelaticall uſurpations*, and the *Parliament* hath ſufficiently declared its *judgement* in this *point*, they have clearly *proved* that *Prelacy* had taken ſuch a *deepe root* in *England*, and had ſuch a *deſtructive influence*, not only into the *pernicious evills* of the *Church*, but *Civill State*, that the *Law* of *right reaſon* (even *Salus populi quæ ſuprema lex eſt*) did command and compell them to take away both *roote and branch*; you may diſpute that *point* with *them*; Sir, you cannot prove that *Prelacy is an Order of the Church, as ancient as the Chriſtian Church it ſelf, and made venerable by the never interrupted reception of it in all Ages of the Church but ours.*

10. I am no *Turkiſh Prophet*, I never *preacht* any *piece* of the *Alchoran* for *good Doctrine*, much leſs did I ever make it a *piece* of the *Goſpell*; all that I ſay is this, that *Chriſtians incorporated* in a *Civill State* may make uſe of *Civill* and *naturall means* for their outward *ſafety*. And that the *Parliament* hath a *Legall power* more then *ſufficient* to prevent and reſtrain *Tyranny*. Finally, the *Parliament* hath power to defend that *Civill right* which we have to exerciſe the *true Proteſtant Religion*, this laſt point is ſure of higheſt conſequence becauſe it concernes *Gods* immediate *honour*, and the *Peoples temporall* and *eternall* good. Pray Sir, ſhew me if you can, why, he who ſaith the *Proteſtants* in *Ireland* may defend their *Civill right* for the free exerciſe of their *Religion*, againſt the *furious aſſaults* of the *bloudie Rebells*, doth by that aſſertion proclaime himſelf a *Turke*, and *Deniſon the Alchoran*; you talke of the *Papiſts Religion*, Sir, their *faith is faction*, their *Religion* is *Rebellion*, they think they are obliged in conſcience, to put *Heretiques* to the ſword, this *Religion* is *deſtructive* to every *Civill State* into which true *Proteſtants* are *incorporated*, & therefore I cannot but wonder at your extravagancy in this *point*. Sir, Who was it that would have impoſed a *Popiſh Service Book* upon *Scotland* by *force* of *Armes*? You preſume that I conceive the *King* had an intent to *extirpate* the *Proteſtant Religion*; Sir, I am ſure that *they* who did *ſeduce* or *over-awe* the *King*, had ſuch a

deſigne.

deſigne. I doe not beleeve that the *Queene* and her *Agents* (the *Papiſts* in *England* who were certainly *confederate* with the *Iriſh Rebells*) had any intent to *ſettle* the true *Proteſtant Religion*; & you cannot but beleeve that their intent was, to *extirpate* the *Proteſtant Religion* by the *ſword*, and to plant *Popery* in its ſtead; I know *Chriſt* doth make *proſelytes*, and breake the *ſpirituall power* of *Antichriſt*, by his *word* and *ſpirit*, for *Antichriſt* is caſt out of the hearts and conſciences of men by the *ſpirit* of the *Lord Jeſus*; but *Chriſt* is *King* of *Nations* as well as *King* of *Saints*, and will breake the *temporall power* of *Antichriſt* by *Civill* and *naturall meanes*. If *Papiſts* and *Delinquents* are in readineſs to *reſiſt* or *aſſault* the *Parliament* by *Armes*, how can the *Parliament* be defended or *Delinquents* puniſhed but by force of *Armes*? I know men muſt be *converted* by a *ſpirituall perſwaſion*, but they may be *terrified* by force of *Armes* from perſecution. All that I ſay, is, the *Parliament* may repell *force* with *force*, and if men were afraid to profeſs the *truth* becauſe of the *Queenes Army*, and are now as fearfull to maintaine *errours* for feare of the *Parliament*, the ſcales are even, and we may (by ſtudy, conference, diſputation, and prayer for a bleſsing upon all) be *convinced*, and *converted* by the *undenyable demonſtrations of the Spirit*; Sir, this is my *perſwaſion*, and therefore I am ſure far from that *Mahumetan perſwaſion* of which I am unjuſtly accuſed.

11. I am glad that you ſpeake out, and give light to your *darke roome*; I did not accuſe you of *Conventicles*. I beleeve you *hate* thoſe *Chriſtian meetings* which *Tertullian* & *Minutius*, *Pliny* and *others* ſpeake of; we had *lights* and *witneſſes* good ſtore at our *meetings*. And as for your conceit, that I deſerve to be in *Bedlam*, becauſe of the *predominancy of my pride and paſsion, and the irregularity of my will*; Sir, I confeſs that I deſerve to be in *Hell*, a worſe place then *Bedlam*; and if you ſcoffe at me for this acknowledgement, I ſhall ſay as *Auguſtine* did, *Irrideant me arrogantes, & nondum ſalubriter proſtrati, & eliſi à te Deus meus, ego tamen confiteor dedecora mea in laude tua*. Sir, be not too *confident* of the *ſtrength* of your *wit*, make a *good uſe* of it, or elſe you may quickly come to have as *litle wit* as you conceive, *God* hath beſtowed on *me*. 1. Doe you beleeve that your *nature* is *corrupt*? 2. And doth not a *wanton wit* make the *heart effeminate*? 3. Did

you never *converse* with any woman of *light behaviour?* rub up your *memory*. 4. *Superstitious persons* are usually *lascivious*, I could tell you more, but I spare you. 5. Are you more *temperate* then the *Disciples* to whom *Christ* gave that *caveat*, *Luk.* 21. 34? you may then apply your selfe to *Prayer and Fasting*; doe not say that this is a *filthy Caveat*, but beware of that *filthy sinne*, and acknowledge that the *Caveat* is given you, upon sad *considerations*.

12. You tell me that *God* is not so *fatally tyed to the Spindle of an absolute Reprobation*, but that upon your *Repentance* he will *seale your Pardon*. Sir, *Reprobatio est tremendum Mysterium*; how dare you *jest* upon such a *Subject*, at the thought of which each *Christian trembles?* Can any man *repent*, that is given up to a *reprobate mind*, and an *impenitent heart?* And is not every man *finally impenitent*, save those *few* to whom *God* gives *repentance*, *freely*, *powerfully*, *effectually?* See what it is for a man to come from *Ben. Johnson*, or *Lucian*, to treat immediately of the *high* and *stupendidious mysteries* of *Religion*; the *Lord God* pardon this wicked thought of your *heart*, that you may not perish in the *bond of iniquity* and *gall of bitternes*; be pleased to study the *9. Chapter to the Romanes*.

You say if we *agree* upon the *true state* of the *Questions before hand*, *nothing will be left us to dispute*. Sir, it is 1. one thing to *state* a *question* for debate, so that *you* may undertake the *affirmative*, I the *Negative*, or *è contra*: 2. another thing to *state* a *question* in a *supposition* as the *Respondent* usually doth, and a third business to *state* a *question* after the debate in a prudent and convincing *determination*, as the *Moderatour* should doe; I speake of *agreeing* upon the *state* of the *question* in the first sense, that the *Question* may be propounded in such *termes* as doe so farre *state* the *point* in *Controversie*, that *you* and I may know which *part* to take, the *Affirmative* or *Negative*.

The questions *as I conceive are these that follow.*

1. Whether all that our *Prelates* have *borrowed* of the *Church* of *Rome*, and *imposed* upon the *people*, ought to be still *retained* in the *Church* of *England?*

2. Whether the *Images* of our *Mediatour*, and the *Saints* are

usefull

uſefull Ornaments in *Proteſtant Churches?*

3. Whether any *Prelate* be *endued* with the *power* of *ſole Ordination* and *Juriſdiction Jure divino?*

4. Whether *they* who *defend* the *Proteſtants of Ireland* againſt the *Rebells* by *force* of *Armes*, are therefore to be *eſteemed Mahumetans?*

5. Whether *that faith* which is *grounded* only upon *Tradition*, ought to be *eſteemed* a *Divine faith?*

6. Whether the *ſpirit ſpeaking in the word to the conſcience of private men* ought to be *eſteemed* a *private Spirit?*

7. Whether any *Reprobate* can ever be *converted* or *ſaved?*

8. Whether the *Papiſts* of *England*, & *Rebells* of *Ireland* with their *Confederates* did endeavour to *extirpate* the *Proteſtant Religion* and plant *Popery* in its ſtead?

9. Whether *they* who endeavoured to *impoſe* a *Popiſh Service-Booke* upon *Scotland* by *force* of *Armes*, were of the *Mahumetan perſwaſion?*

10. Whether the *School-men* are *Competent judges* in any *point* which concernes the *Myſterie* of *Faith* or *Power* of *Godlineſs?*

11. Whether the *Nationall Covenant contradict* it ſelfe?

Sir, if you pleaſe to anſwer upon the *three firſt queſtions* in the *Schools*, and *hold* them as you ſeem to *hold* them *all Affirmatively*, I ſhall endeavour to *prove* the *Negative*.

To all your *ſcoffes* and *abuſes* I have nothing to reply; if *God* bids you *revile* or *curſe* me, I ſhall ſubmit to *God*; you call me *Fool*, *Bedlam*, *Turke*, *Dog*, *Devill*, becauſe I give you *ſeaſonable* advice: Sure Sir, *Nazianzen*, *Proſper*, &c. were not guilty of ſuch *Poetry*, nor did *Prudentius* teach you any ſuch *ſtreines*.

I did very honeſtly forewarn you of a *viſitation*; it is I thinke proper enough to enquire into *matters* of *fact* at a *viſitation*. Now whether *Copes* have been put to a *ſuperſtitious uſe* is not a queſtion to be determined by *any* but *In-Artificiall Arguments*, I mean by *ſufficient Witneſſes*. To that which you Propheſie of, that I am like to be a *Viſitor*; I anſwer 1. I thinke you have litle ground for ſuch a *Prophecy*: I call it a *Prophecy*, for I am ſure the *Houſes* of *Parliament* have not yet named any *Viſitor*. 2. You talke much of the *wiſedome* of the *High Court of Parliament*; and can you ima-

imagine that ſo *Wiſe* a *Court* or (as you terme it) *Councell* will make choice of a *Bedlam*, a *Turke*, *Dog*, &c. to *viſit* ſo many *prudent* and *learned Doctors*?

Sir, you ſay you are not *ſatisfied* with *my Arguments*, you might have conſider'd that I doe reſerve *my arguments* till we meete at *Schooles*, our worke for the *preſent* is to draw up the *Points* in *Controverſie* into *formall queſtions*; I have you ſee *formed* ſome *queſtions*, if you pleaſe to adde *more*, you may, I ſhall be ready to give you the beſt *ſatisfaction* I can, after *theſe* are *diſcuſſed*, if I be not called away to ſome *better imployment* by *thoſe* who have power to *diſpoſe* of

Your humble Monitor,
FRAN: CHEYNELL.

An
- *Omnia è Miſſali Breviario necnon Pontificali Romano à Prelatis noſtris decerpta, populoq́ obſtruſa in Eccleſiam recipienda ſint?*
- *Chriſti Sanctorumq́ imagines Reformatorum Templis utili ſint ornatui?*
- *Soli Prælato poteſtas Ordinationis nec non Juriſdictionis Jure divino competat?*

In hiſce quæſtionibus animi tui ſententiam expectat
FRANCISCUS CHEYNELL.

Having read over this *Letter*, I felt two *contrary Affections* move within my ſelfe. Firſt, I was *ſorry*, that it began in that kinde of *bitterneſs*, which uſeth to have the ſame *miſchievous effect* upon *minds* not addicted to *quarrel*, as *blear eyes* have upon other *eyes more ſound*. Which finde themſelves *inſenſibly infected* by *beholding*; And in the *preſence* of thoſe that are *bleared* unawares learne their *imperfections*, and become *bleared* too. Next, I was *glad*, that the *Controverſies* betweene us, (which like the *originall* of *mankinde*, began in *two*, and in a ſhort time had *multiplyed* themſelves paſt *number*) were at length reduced to *three latine queſtions*, and thoſe to be diſputed in the *Divinity School*; where that part of *Oxford*, which underſtands no other *Tongue*, but that in which they dayly utter their *commodities*, if they had been *preſent* towards the making of a *throng*, had yet beene *abſent* to the

the diſpute. Thus divided, therefore, between my *provocations* to *Anſwer* the *reproachfull Preface*, and my *Alacrity* to *comply* with the *Concluſion* of the precedent *Letter*, I returned this *following Anſwer*.

Sir, When I had open'd the *Letter* you ſent me on *Saturday night* laſt, *Jan.* 30. and found by the firſt period of it, that as your *firſt Letter* ſhew'd you a great *Maſter* in *Detraction*, ſo in *this* you had learnt the *Art* to make the *Scripture revile* me too, and taught *two* of *Solomons* * *Proverbs* to call me *Fool*; Finding alſo in the next period how *naturally* and uncompelled *ill language* flows from you, who do here confeſs that you did *let looſe your pen* that I might ſee, how eaſily, and with what an *unforc'd* Dexterity, *in the leſs ſerious part of the Day*, without *premeditation*, or the expence of Study, you could *revile* me; And withall, that you did *let flye ſo many quibbles* (as the *exerciſe of your Recreation*, I preſume) to minde me of my more *induſtrious Trifles*, I muſt confeſs I not onely look't upon you as a *Perſon* fit to *ſit* in the * *Seat of the Scornfull*, but as *one* very capable to be requited with a *Proverb*; which the ſame * *Chapter* which you *quoted*, preſented to me at the 18. & 19. *Verſes*; where 'tis ſaid, *That as a mad-man who caſteth firebrands, Arrows, and death, ſo is the man that deceiveth his neighbour and ſaith he is in ſport.*

* Pro. 26. 4, 5.

* Pſa. 1. 1.

* Pro. 26. 18. 19.

Sir, I ſhould not have applyed this *peice* of *Scripture* to you by way of *Retaliation*, (which may ſeem to have ſome *bitterneſs* in it) had you not at the very *threſhold* and firſt *unlocking* of *your Letter*, verified this *Proverb* upon *your ſelf*, by caſting *firebrands* and *Arrows* firſt, and thereby *deceiving me*, who (upon your *promiſe* that I ſhould be *ſpiritually dealt with*, that is, as a *Divine* ingaged in a needleſs *Controverſie* with a *Divine* ought to be) unſucceſsfully flattered my ſelf, that for the *future*, though I could not expect much *Reaſon* or *proof* or *Argument* from you, yet you would certainly bind your ſelf to the *Laws* of *Sobriety*, and *good Language*. How you have made good your *promiſe*, will appear to *any*, who (beſides the *reproachfull proverb* with which you *begin* your *Letter*, and for which, a *greater then Solomon* hath ſaid, you ſhall be in * *Danger of Hell-fire*) ſhall read the puddle of *your letter* which ſtreams from the firſt *foul Spring*, and *Head* of it; where, having firſt charged me in my *Writing* to you with *Elaborate Folly*, you make it an *Excuſe* to the *Dirt* and *mire* of your *pen*, that I ſet you the *Copy*, and was *foul* in my *Expreſſions firſt*.

* Mat. 5. 22

Sir, Though the ſaying of *Tacitus* be one of the beſt *confutations* of

Detraction, *Convitia ſpreta exoleſcunt*, and though I have alwaies thought that to enter *combate* with a *Dunghill* is the way to come off more *defiled*; yet finding my ſelf *engaged* (like one of the *poeticall Knights errant*) with an Adverſary that will not onely *provoke* me to *fight*, but, whoſe *beſt Weapon* is to defile me out of the field, I ſhal for once apply as good *perfume* to the *ſtench* you ſpeak of, as can poſſibly in ſuch times make me walk the *ſtreets* in my *own Oxford*, *uncondens'd* not by *you* made *foggy*, *Ayre*; And ſhall make it evident, firſt to *your ſelf*, next to the *world*, (if you will conſent that what thus *ſecretly* paſſeth between *us* ſhall be made *publike*, and *Printed*) that you are not onely *fallible* in your moſt ſad, and melancholy conſiderations, but in thoſe more *pleaſant*, *mirthful chymes* of *quibbling*, for which I before placed you in the *Chaire*.

Firſt, ſir, you bid me read over my *two Sermons* and the *two letters* which I have ſent you, *as if they were yours*, *and then impartially tell you*, *whether I am not to paſs ſentence upon them as you do*; That they are *Difficiles Nugæ*, *Elaborate Follies*.

To which my Reply is; Firſt, that there is ſo much *loyalty*, and ſo little *ſelf-intereſt* in them, that my imagination can never be ſtrong enough to Suppoſe them to be *yours*, Next, That what *Folly* ſoever betrayes it ſelf in your *expreſſions*, yet the *matter* is built upon ſuch ſure *rocks* of the *Scripture*, that 'tis not all the *Waves* or *Tempeſt* which you can raiſe againſt them, wil be able to reduce them to the *fate* of a *Houſe built upon the Sand*. Thirdly, (ſince all *Diſputes*, as wel as *Wit*, are like a *Reſt Kept up at Tennis*, where *good players* do the *beſt* with the *beſt Gamſters*) I do ſadly promiſe you, that when ever you ſhal either *write* or *urge* to me ſuch *Arguments* of *ſerious Conſideration*, that I ſhal not have reaſon to think *St. Pauls* ſaying verified in my *Expreſſions*, that my *Fooliſh things* are ſufficient to *confound*, and *bring to nought* your *Wiſe*; I wil lay aſide the *Folly* you tax me withal. In the mean time, if you think my *Letters* to you (By what *Glaſs* ſoever my *Sermons* were made) are *elaborate*, pray compare the *Dates*, and *Receipts* of *them*, with the *No-dates*, and uncertain *Receipts* of *yours*; And you wil find that the *longeſt letter*, I have yet written to you, was but the *creature* of *two days*, when your *unelaborate anſwer* to it back again was the *Birth*, and *Travell* of a whole week.

Having ſaid this, Sir, by way of *Anſwer* to your *ungoſpel-like preface*, I ſhal next, (confining my ſelf once more to your own *method*) addreſs my ſelf to the *examination* of the reſt of your *letter*. A hard

task,

task, I confeſs; It being ſo much a *Twinn-brother* to your *former*, where your *evaſions*, and *little eſcapes* are ſo *many*, and your true ſubſtantiall, ſolid *diſproofes* of any one thing which I have ſayd either in my *Sermons* or *Letters*, ſo *few*, that, to deal freely with you, my *Conflict* with you hitherto hath been (and for ought I yet foreſee is like to prove) like the *Fight* between *Hercules*, and the *River Achelous*; which when 'twas foyled in one *ſhape*, could tire the *Conquerour*, and preſently provoke him to a freſh encounter *in another*. Sir, I could wiſh (without your ſtrange endleſs multiplycation of *Queſtions*) you would aſſume to your ſelf ſome *conſtant figure*, wherein I might ſay, I grappled with a bodyed *Adverſary*. But changing *Form*, as you do, and putting me ſtil to *prove* that which you have not yet ſo much as ſeemingly *confuted*, pardon me (I beſeech you) if I ſay, that my *combate* with you is not only like the *combate* of *Hercules* with that *River*, but like his, who thought he had entered *Duell* with a *Gyant*, and after much toyl found himſelf encountred by a cloud.

Firſt, you *conceive*, that I *preacht in defence of all Images ſet up in any Chappell within this Vniverſity*. Sir, This is but your *conceipt*, of which *you*, not *I* am guilty. My ſermon, if you mark it, is not ſo confined either to *Vanlings Draughts*, or any other mans *pencil*, as to defend what ever their *Irregular Fancies* ſhal draw, or not to defend what ever, either heer, or any where elſe, they ſhal *regularly* limb. But if your *conceipt* were true, what doth your *Logick* infer, That becauſe ſome *Chappels* are adorn'd with the *Images* of ſome of the *perſons in the Glorious Trinity, therefore I muſt acknowledg all Images of that ſort ought to be taken down*? Pray, Sir, how long hath the ſingle-*Topick* of your meer *Aſſertion* been of ſuch forcible Authority, that without any other proofe, you ſhould think me obliged to hold ſuch *Images* worthy of expulſion, becauſe you ſay they are? Had you either from *Scripture* (the moſt perfect *Rule* for the Deciſion of *Controverſies*) or from *Reaſon*, (Though in your eſteem but a peece of *nature corrupted*) urged any one *neceſſary Argument* to prove them *unlawful*, or things which deſerve to be called the *Idolatry* or *Superſtition* of the *place*, perhaps being a *ſervant* to *Demonſtration*, (though a *favourite* of the *muſes*) I ſhould have been one of the firſt that ſhould have cryed out for *Reformation*. But this not being done by *you*, nor indeed, poſſible to be done by *any other*, though my ſermon ſpeak not of any *Image* of any *perſon* in the *Trinity*, yet I conceive all *Arguments*, which ſhal ſtrive to prove, that no picture of any *perſon* in

the *Trinity* ought to be the *Ornaments* of a *Church*, or *Chappell Window*, will be as frail and brittle as the *Glass* in which they ſtand. Sir, I have ſaid in my laſt *Letter*, and ſhal repeat it in this, that 'tis not *you*, but *nature* and the *numerous places of Scripture*, which forbid to make any *picture* of *God*, (either taken for the *Divine eſſence* common to all the *three perſons*, or for the perſon of *God* the *Father* diſtinct from the other *two*) which perſwade me that any ſuch *picture* (beſides the *impoſſibility*) is *unlawfull*. And therefore you need not have put your ſelf to the unneceſſary trouble to hang your *Margin* with *quotations* taken out of *Bellarmine*, or *Aquinas*; ſince all ſuch *quotations* applyed to that which I have ſaid and you have cited, which is, That *all pictures of God are a breach of the ſecond Commandment*, do ſtrike me no more, then if I ſhould enter conflict with thoſe dead *Arras-Captains*, which in *hangings* threaten to aſſault the ſpectatour with *imaginary*, *Woven Lances*. Much leſs need you ſo ſuperfluouſly have called S. *Paul* from the *third heaven* to prove, that (becauſe he once quoted this *Greek Hemiſtick* out of *Aratus* τοῦ γὰρ γένος ἐσμέν, that we are the *Off-ſpring* of *God*) God is not *like to gold, ſilver, or ſtone, graven by the art of mans device*. Since by that which I have ſaid of him in my former Letter, you are obliged to teſtifie for me, that I have urged convincing reaſons to prove he cannot be: which Reaſons, as borrowed from *nature* and the *ſchoolmen* (with whom, ſir, I hope you are not implacably fallen out) I do not urge as the *ſupream Judges* of what I there prove, but as ſubſervient mediums, which carry a muſick and conſent to that which *God* hath ſaid of himſelf in the more perfect *Rule* of his *Word*. So that, for doing this, to charge me (as you do) with the Study of the *Lullian Art*, is either *nonſence* in your Letter, or an *Illation* which reſolvs it ſelf into a contemptible miſtake; which is, That becauſe *Lullius*, who wrote of *Chymiſtry*, was called *Raymundus*, I, who have read another *Raymundus* who wrote of *Natural Theologie*, am to be called a *Lullianiſt*, which is a *Logick* as wretched, as if I ſhould ſay, Mr *Cheynell* hath read *Cajetane*, and hath made him a *marginal note*, Therefore he is a *ſeeker* of the *Philoſophers Stone*, and ſtudy's to convert the *Ore* and *Tin* of the *kingdom* into *Gold*. Sir, Your *Logick* is not much mended when you ſay, That the Word (*thereupon*) is ſometimes *Illative*, ſometimes *Ordinative*. For take it which way you will, As it ſtands in your laſt *letter*, you are bound to give me thanks as a *Poet*, that I dealt not with you as a *Sophiſter*, and proclaimed your infirmity for having utter'd a *contradiction*. Which *contradiction*, I confeſs, might have been avoyded

by

by the insertion of the *omitted word or two*, for want of which, you say my *sophisticall Criticism* is abortive, and came but with one legg into the World.

In answer to your next *Paragraph*, I shall most readily grant, That 'tis a *high fault to picture God*. Because, any such *Draught* not being possible to be made of him, but by resembling of him to *something* wch is able to afford a *Species* or *Idea* to the *sense*, would, (besides the *Falseness* of it, where a *gross material figure* should represent a *pure invisible Essence*) degrade him from the honour which he ought to hold in our *Minds* which are his Temple; in which *Temple* if he should hang up in a *frame* or *table*, which should contract and shrink him to the finite *Model* of a *man* or any other *creature*, 'twere the way to convert him into an *Idoll*; and so (as I have often said) to sin against the *second Commandement*, which as it may be broken by spending our *Worship* upon *false Gods*; so it may also be broken by our *false portraitures*, and *apprehensions*, and *venerations* of the *True*.

The case of the *Saints* is far otherwise. For whose *pictures turn'd into Idols*, as I have no where pleaded, (For as *Idols* I acknowledge they are the crime of those who worship them) so, as *Ornaments*, you will never be able convincingly to prove but that they may be innocently retain'd, and be lookt on by those who do only count them *speechless Colours*. The like may be said of all *Pictures* made of *Christ*, which pretend to express no more of him then is capable of *Representation*, and exceed not the *lines* and *symetry* of his *Body* and *flesh*. For I shal grant you that to Limb his *Divinity*, or to draw him in both his *Natures*, as he is θεάνθρωπον & *God* as well as *man*, is altogether impossible, and not in the power of any *Painter*, though we should recall *Apelles*, or *Parrhasius* from their Graves, and once more put *Pencils* into their Hand. You know, sir, if a *man* should have his *picture* drawn, 'twould be an impossible task, if he should enjoyn the *Painter* to limb his *soul*, as well as the *proportion* and *feature* of his *Body*, since the *Soul* is a thing so unexpressible to the sense, that it scarce affords any *Idea* to be understood by the *mind*. Sir, if you have read Aristotles Books περὶ ψυχῆς, you will there find, that the *proper Objects* of all the *senses* besides those of the *Eye* (though much grosser then *Spirits* or *Souls*) cannot be brought into *picture*. A *Painter* may draw a *flower* but he cannot limb a *scent*. He may paint *fire*, but he cannot draw *heat*. He may furnish a table with an *imaginary banquet*, but he that should offer to taste of this *banquet* would find himself cozen'd. The Reason is, because *Nature* it self makes it impossible for the *proper* Object of

one *ſenſe* to be the *Object* of *another*; And finds not *art* or *colours* for any *thing inviſible*; But only for thoſe *Superficie's*, *Symetry's*, and *ſenſible parts* of Things, which are firſt capable to be *ſeen*, and then to be tranſcribed into a *picture*. But why that part of Chriſt, which after his Reſurrection, (when it began to ceaſe to be any longer a part of this *viſible* World) *was ſeen of above five hundred brethren at once*, may not be painted; Nay, why the *figure* of a *Dove*, or of *cloven Tongues* of *fire* (wherein the *third perſon* in the *glorious Trinity* appeared, when he deſcended upon our Mediator Chriſt, and ſate upon the *heads* of the *Apoſtles*) may not be brought into *imagery*, I muſt confeſs to you, I am not ſharp-witted enough to perceive. Though this I ſhal freely ſay to you, (and pray do not call it Poetry) That to maintain that Chriſt thus in *picture* may be *worſhipt*, is ſuch a peece of *Superſtition*, as not only teaches the ſimple to commit Idolatry, but endeavours to verifie upon him in *colours* the reproach which the calumniating Jews ſtuck upon his *perſon* and to make him thus painted, a Seducer of people.

As for your fourth *paragraph*, (which aſſaults me the ſecond time with an Argument without an Edge, which is, that the *Sun and Images cannot be put in the ſcales of compariſon in point of fitneſs to be preſerved*) having in my former *Letter* already anſwered you, I ſhal not put my ſelf to the needleſs trouble, the ſecond time to confute it.

For anſwer to your Fifth, pray, Sir, read that part of my *Sermon* which you have corrupted into a *quibble*; And there you ſhal find, that what I ſay of *clean linnen* is not, as you ſay, a *ſhifting Fallacy*. But I there ſay that which you wil never be able to controule; which is, That by the ſame reaſon that you make *Surplices* to be *ſuperſtitious* becauſe *papiſts* wear them, you may make *Linnen* alſo to be *ſuperſtitious* becauſe *papiſts ſhift*; And ſo conclude *cleanlineſs* to be as *unlawful* as *Surplices* or *Copes*. Sir, this is δὶς κράμβη; I confeſs, the ſame Anſwer twice ſerved in to you, not out of ſcarcity or barrenneſs, or for want of another Reply, but becauſe much of your *Letter* is but *crambe* repetita, a *carret twice boyled*.

Your ſixth *paragraph* is a *faggot* bound up with more ſticks in it, then you, without *poetical Licence*, can poſſibly gather from my *Letter*; where, Sir, I only promiſe you, (when ever you ſhal cal upon me) to derive to you all the *ancient parts of our Engliſh Liturgy* from *Liturgy's* which were in the Church before *popery* was born. Of which if any part be to be found in the *Rubricks* of the *Church of Rome* your *logick* wil never be able to prove, that therefore 'tis to be rejected as

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trash and trumpery in ours. Good things, Sir, lose not their *goodness*, because they are in some places mingled with *superstitions*. Nor, as I told you before, do *Davids Psalms* cease to be a piece of *Canonical Scripture*, because they are to be found bound up in the volumn with the *Mass*. Sir, if what ever is made use of by the *Pope*, or touches upon *Rome*, should be *superstitious*, the *River Tiber* would be the most blameable *river* in the World. What you mean by a *prelatical Faction* here in *England*, or what they borrowed from the *Rituals* or *pontifical* of *Rome*, is expreſt to me in such a *mist* of words (which sound big to the *common people*, and signifie nothing to the *wise*) that I must confess my *dulness*, I do not understand you. If you mean, that they inserted any *new peeces* into the *old garment* of our *Comon-prayer-book*; and those borrowed from the *Missal*, or *Breviary of Rome*, I beleeve, Sir, (abstracting from those *alterations* made in the *prayers* for the *King*, *Queen*, and *Royal issue*, which the *Death* of *Princes* exacted, (unless, for constancy sake, you would have them allow of *prayers* for the *dead*; and in *King Charls* and *Queen Mary's* days, to pray still for *King James* and *Queen Anne*, which would be a piece of *popery* equal to the *invocations of saints*) you will find nothing *modern* or of such *new contrivance*, as past not *Bucers Examen* in the *raign of* Edward *the sixth*; And was confirmed by *Act of Parliament* in the *raign* of Queen *Elizabeth*. In saying this in their defence, who had the ordering of such *changes*, I hope Sir, you will not so uncharitably think me imbark't in their *Faction* (which truly to me stil presented it self like the *conceal'd Horses under ground*, a *fiction* made to walk the *streets*, to terrifie the *people*) as to perswade your self, after my so many professions to *fall a sacrifice* to the *Protestant Religion*, that it can be either in the power of the Church or *court of Rome*, to tempt me from my *Resolution*: Which is, to go out of the world, in the same Religion I came in.

Sir, I gave warning in my last *letter* not to venture your writings upon the Argument, which deceives none but very *vulgar understandings*, and which I in my Sermon cal the *Mother of mistakes*; which is, from an *accidental concurrence* in *some things* to infer an outright *similitude* and *agreement* in *all*. Because *Bellarmine* says *tradition* is a better *medium* to prove some things by, then a *private spirit*, and because I in this particular have said so too, you tacitely infer that I and *Bellarmine* are of the same Religion: which is the same, as if a *Turk* and a *Christian* saying that the *Sun* shines, you should infer, that the *Christian* is a *Mahumetan*, and for saying so, a *Turk*. I confess, you do not say we are both of the same Religion: but that I, in preferring

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Tradition; which you your ſelf, in your ſeventh *paragraph*, allow to be the *Conſtant and univerſal Report of the Church*) before the Teſtimony of the *Spirit ſpeaking in the Word to the Conſciences of private men*, am more *profane* than *he*. Heer, ſir, you muſt not take it ill, if I expoſe you to the cenſure of being deſervedly thought guilty of a double *miſtake*. The one is, that if *Bellarmine* in this *particular* were in an *Errour*, and if I had out-ſpoken him in his *Errour*, yet the Laws of *ſpeech* will not allow you to ſay, That in an *unprofane* ſubject, either of us is *profane*; more *heretical*, or *miſtaken* you might perhaps have ſaid: and this, though a falſe Aſſertion, might yet have paſt for right Expreſſion. But to call him *poſitively*, and me *comparatively more profane*, becauſe we both hold, That a *Drop* is more liable to corruption then the *Ocean*, or the *teſtimony of all ages* of the *Church* is a fuller *proof* of the meaning of a *text* in *Scripture*, then the *ſolitary Expoſition* of a *man* who can perſwade none but himſelf, is as incongruous, as if you ſhould ſay, that becauſe *Bellarmine* wrote but *three Volumni*, and *Abulenſis* twelve, therefore *Abulenſis* was a greater *Adulterer* then *He*. Your other *miſtake* is, That you confound the *Spirit* of God ſpeaking in the *Scripture* with the *private Spirit* (that is) *Reaſon*, *Humour*, or *Fancie* of the *perſon* ſpoken to. Sir, let that
2 Pet. 1. 20 *bleſſed Spirit* decide this controverſie between us. He ſayes * *that no Propheſie of the Scripture is of private Interpretation*. That is, ſo *calculated*, or *Meridianized* to ſome ſelect *minds* & *underſtandings*, that it ſhall hold the *candle* to them *only*, and leave *All others* in the *Darke*. But, if you will conſent to the Comment of the moſt primitive *Fathers* on that *Text*, The meaning of it is; That as *God* by his *Spirit* did at firſt dictate the *ſcripture*, ſo he dictated it in thoſe things which are *neceſſary* to *Salvation*, intelligible to all the world of Men, who will addict their minds to read it. It being therefore a *Rule* held out to all *mankind*, for them to order their lives and actions by, and therefore univerſally *intelligible* to them, (it ſhould elſe ceaſe to be either *Revelation* or a *Rule*) for you to hold that it cannot be underſtood without a *ſecond Revelation*, made by the ſame *Spirit* that wrote it, to the *private ſpirit of you the more-Cabinet Reader*, is as if you ſhould incloſe and impale to your ſelf the *Ayre*, or *Sun-beames*; And ſhould maintain that God hath placed the *Sun* in the firmament, and given you only eyes to ſee him. In ſhort, ſir, 'tis to make his *word*, which was ordained to give *light* to all the *World*, a *Dark Lanthorn*, In which a *candle* ſhines to the uſe of *none* but *him* that bears it.

Your *Eighth Paragraph* being the *third* of your *eleven Queſtions* as alſo the *cloſe* of your *ninth*, ſhall receive a *Latine* Anſwer from me in the *Divinity School*.

Your

Your next *Paragraph* is againe the *Hydra* with *repullulating Heads*: Where, first, you put me to prove the purity of the *Doctrine*, *Discipline*, and *Government* in *England*. Which, being managed by a *Prelaticall faction*, *whom*, you say, I call the *Church*, *was not excellent*, *if I reckon from the yeare* 1630. *to* 1640. As for the *Doctrine*, Sir, I told you before, that the *Primitive Church* it selfe was not free from *Heresies*. If therefore I should grant you (which I never shall, till you particularly tell me what those *erroneous doctrines* were) that some men in our *Church* were *heterodox*, nay *heretically* in their *opinions*, yet I conceive it to be a very neere neighbour to *heresie* in you to charge the *doctrines* of *persons* upon the *Kingdome* or *Church*. Such *Doctrines* might be *in England*, (as you whether out of Choice or Luck have said) yet not by the *Tenets* or *Doctrines* of the *Land*: No more, then if you should say, that because M. *Terbury* and some few *others* hold the *Equality* of the *Saints* with *Christ*, the whole *Kingdome* is a *blasphemer*, and was by you confuted at S. *Maries*. The *publick doctrine* of the *Church* of *England* I call none but that which was allowed to be so by an *Act* of *Parliament* of *England*; and that, Sir, was contained in the 39. *Articles*. If any *Prelate* or *inferiour Priest*, for the *Circle* of *yeares* you speak of, either held or taught any thing contrary to *these*, (as it will be hard I beleeve for you to instance in *any* of that *side* who did) you shall have my consent, in that particular, to count them no part of our *Church*. In the meane time, Sir, I beseech you be favourable to this *Island*; and think not that for *ten yeares space* 'twas *heretically* in all the parts of it on this side *Berwick*. Withall, Sir, I desire (since you have assigned me an *Epocha* to reckon from) that you will compare the worst *doctrines* which wore the *date* of the *Trojan Warre* among us, with those which have since broke loose in the space of a *Warre* not halfe so long, and you will find, that our *Church* for those *ten yeares* you speak of *wore a garment*, I will not say, as *seamless* and *undivided* as *Christs coat*: But since the *Soldiers* did *cast lots* upon it, so much *heresie*, as well as *schisme*, hath torne it asunder, that 'tis now become like *Josephs coat* imbrued in *blood*, where no one *piece* carryes *colour* or *resemblance* to another. As for the *Discipline* and *Government* of our *Church*, (if you would speak your *conscience*, and not your *gall*) you would confess, that

the *frame* and *ſtructure* of it was raiſed from the moſt Primitive *Modell* that any *Moderne Church* under the *Sunne* was governed by. A *Government* ſo well *ſized* and *fitted* to the *Civill Government* of the *Kingdome*, that till the *inſurrection* of ſome *falſe Prophets*, who preſumed to offer *ſtrange fire* before the *Lord*, and reduced a *Land* which flowed with *milk* and *honey*, into a *wilderneſſe*; they agreed together like the two *Scripture-brethers*, *Moſes* and *Aaron*; and were the two *banks* which ſhut up *ſchiſme* within its *channell*, and ſuffered not *hereſie* or *ſedition* to overflow their *bounds*. In ſhort, Sir, I know not into what *new forme* this *Kingdome* may be *moulded*, or what *new creation* may creep forth from the ſtrife-full *heap* of things, into which, as into a ſecond *Chaos*, we are fallen; But if the *Civill State* doe ever returne to its former *ſelfe* againe, your *Preſbyterian Government*, which was brought forth at *Geneva*, and was ſince nurſed up in *Scotland*, mingled with it, (if I be not deceived in the *principles* of that *Government*) will be but a *wild Vine* ingrafted into a *true*. Vpon which unequall, diſproportioned *Incorporation*, we may as well expect to gather *Figs* of *Thiſtles*, or *grapes* of *thornes*, as that the *one* ſhould grow ſo *Southerne*, the *other* ſo *Northerne*; that one harmonious, muſicall *Body* ſhould ariſe from them thus *joyned*. What *Errors* in *Government* or *Diſcipline* were committed by the *Prelates*, I know not; neither have you proved them hitherto chargeable with any; unleſs this were an *error*, that they laid an *Oſtraciſme* (as you ſay) *upon thoſe that oppoſed your Government*. I beleeve, Sir, when *Presbytery* is ſet up, and you placed in your *Conſiſtory* with your *Spirituall* and *Lay-Brethren*, you will not be ſo negligent, or ſo much aſleep in your place, as not to find an *Oſtraciſme* for thoſe, who ſhall oppoſe you in your office. In the meane time, Sir, to call *them*, or *thoſe*, who ſubmitted to their *Government*, *A Prelaticall faction*, becauſe the then wheels of their *Government* moved with an *unanimous* undiſturbance, is, I beleeve, a calumny, which you would faine faſten upon them, provoked (I ſuppoſe) by the deſcription which I have made of the *conſpiracy* of the *Falſe Prophets* of *Jeruſalem* in my *Sermon*. I muſt deal freely with you, Sir, do but probably make it appear to me, that this *Faction* in *your letter* was like the *Conſpiracy* in *my Sermon*; Do but prove to me, that the *Prelates devoured ſoules*; That they took to themſelves the *Treaſure*, and *precious things* of the *Land*;

That

That to effect this, they kindled the first *ſpark* towards a *Civill War*; & then blew it into ſuch a *flame*, as could not be quencht but with the bloud of *Husbands* raviſht from their *Wives*, and the ſlaughter of *parents* preſt and raviſht from their *children*: Doe but prove to me that they made *one widdow*, or built their *Honours* upon the *ruine* or *calamity* of one *Orphane*; Laſtly, do but prove to me that the *Prieſts* (whom you make to be the *lower orbe* of their *Faction*) did ſo mingle, and confound the *ſervices* of the *Church, as to put no difference between the holy, and profane*, or that in complyance with them, they *ſaw vanity, and divined lyes to the people*, and I ſhall think them capable of all the hard language, which you or others have for ſome yeares heapt upon them. Till then, Sir, pray miſtake not *Concrets* for their *Abſtracts*; nor charge the faults of *perſons*, upon the innocency of their *functions*. *Prelacy* is an *Order* ſo well rooted in the *Scripture*, though now deprived of all its *Branches* in this Kingdome, that I verily perſwade my ſelfe, that as *Caiaphas* in the *Goſpell* when he ſpoke *Prophecy*, perceived not himſelf at that time to be a *Prophet*; ſo you (over-rul'd by the guidance of a *higher power*) have in this *Paragraph* exceedingly praiſed *Prelacy*, whilſt you laboured to revile it. For either it muſt be *Non-ſenſe*, or a very great *Encomium* of it, when you ſay, that *as long as it enjoyed a root* here in this Kingdome, it had *not onely a deſtructive influence into the evils of the Church, but of the Civill State too*. If the *Influence* of it were ſo *deſtructive of evils*, (as indeed it was) pray with what Logick can you ſay, that *Salus populi quæ ſuprema lex eſt*, did compell the *Parliament* to extirpate a thing ſo *preſervative* and full of *Antidote* both to *Church* and *State*?

Sir, if mens *ſtyles & denominations* be to be given to them by the *place & clymate* where they are *borne* & *bred*, I ſhall grant you are an *Engliſh*, nay an *Oxford Chriſtian*. But if you preach, & maintain, that *Religion is to be propagated by the Sword*, I muſt tell you, that an *Engliſh Presbyter* may in this caſe be a *Turkiſh Prophet*; and that though his *Text* be choſen from the *Goſpel*, yet the *Doctrine* raiſed from it, may be a piece of the *Alchoran*. I ſhall allow you to ſay that *the Proteſtants in Ireland had a Right to the defence of the free exerciſe of their Religion againſt the furious aſſaults of the bloody Rebels*. But when you tell me that *Chriſt is King of Nati-*

ons as *Well as King of Saints*, (which I ſhall grant you) and ſay, that as one of his wayes to *make Proſelytes* is by the *perſwaſion of his Word and Spirit*; ſo, if that will not do, his other *way to break the power of Antichriſt*, that is, (as I conceive you mean) to convert men from *Popery*, is by *civill* and *naturall* meanes, that is, (if you meane any thing) to compell them to be *Proteſtants* by the *Sword*; Me-thinks I am at *Mecha*, and heare a piece of *Turciſme* preacht to me by one of *Mahumets Prieſts*. In ſhort, Sir, whether the *Papiſts* in *England* were *confederate* with the *Iriſh Rebels* I know not: But doe you prove *demonſtratively*, not *jealouſly*, to me, that the *Queene* and her *Agents* had an intent to *extirpate* the *Proteſtant Religion*, and to *plant Popery* by the *Sword*; and the *Army* that ſhould bring that *deſigne* to paſs, ſhall, in my opinion, be ſtyled an *Army*, not of *Papiſts*, but of *baptized Janizaries*. As for your bidding me diſpute the *right of taking up Armes* in ſuch a caſe, with the *Parliament*; Firſt, I muſt deſire you to accept the Anſwer which *Favroinus* the *Philoſopher* gave to a friend of his, who askt him, why he would let *Adrian* the *Emperour* have the better of him in a *Diſpute*; I am loth to enter into an *Argumentation* with *thoſe* who command *Thirty Legions*. Next, Sir, if I were of conſideration enough to be heard to ſpeak publickly to that *Great Aſſembly*, having firſt kiſt my *weapon*, I ſhould not doubt, with all the *reſpective liberty*, which might witneſs to them that I ſtrive not to diminiſh the *rights* of their *power*, but to defend the *truth* of my *cauſe*, to tell them, that *to come into the field with an armed Goſpel, is not the way choſen by Chriſt to make Proſelites*. If this be an *error* or *miſ-perſwaſion* in me, ſhew me but one *undenyable demonſtration* of the *Spirit* to diſprove it, beſides your *autopicall perſwaſion* of *your ſelfe* to the contrary, and, without any farther *conference*, or *diſpute* in this point, I ſhall acknowledge my ſelfe your *convert*, and be moſt glad to be *convinced*. In the mean time, Sir, you are obliged, (though I be in your opinion in an *error*) to think more *nobly* of *me*, then of thoſe *Cowards* of your *ſide*, who durſt not *ſpeak Truth* in a *time* of *danger*; when you ſee me, in the like *time*, ſuch a reſolute *Champion* (as you conceive) for the *wrong*.

Sir, 'tis one of the prayſes of a good *picture* to be drawne ſo *livingly*, that every one in the room that beholds it, ſhall thinke it lookes

looks *only* on *him*; 'Tis just so with some *Texts* in *Scripture*, and some parts of *morall Philosophy*; which when they speake very Characterizingly of an irregular *passion*, or *vice*, if they meet with a man *Conscious*, and one subject to such *passions*, remember him of his *guilt*, and prick his *minde* as if *he only* were signified by that which was writ to all the *World*. By your charging me that I deale more sharply with you then I should, you give me cause to suspect, that my *Letter* proved such a *picture* to you; and you to your *guilty selfe* seemed a person so *concerned*. The words of bitternes which you have layed together in one *heape*, are composed of such *Language*, as upon your twentieth perusall you will never be able to finde in my *Letter*. Sir, *Christianity*, and my *profession* (however you in your letter forgot *both*) have taught me not to returne *Vomit* for *Vomit*. And the love which I beare to to the *Civility* of *expression*, would never suffer me to be so *revilingly broad*. If I made use of one of *Seneca's Epistles*, or of *Tully's Paradoxes*, or *Horace's poeticall Controversies*, and if you would apply what they said of *Ambition*, *Pride*, or *Choller* to your self, certainly, Sir, you have no reason to call this the *Luxuriancy* of my *wit*. And thereupon to inferre these *provocative conclusions*; that my *wit* is *wanton*, therefore I am *effeminate*. That I am *superstitious*, therefore *lascivious* too. Sir, as my *wit* is so *poore* that I shall observe your *Councell*, that is, never wax *proud* upon the *strength* of it, or *despise those* that are more *weake*, so (without sparing me at all) I doe once more challenge you to prove, that the *wantonnes* of it hath betrayed me to the *loose Conversation* of any that are *light*. Lastly, Sir, I hope you doe not think I have so much of the *vaine glory*, or *selfe-conceitednes* of those *Reverend Hypocrites* in the Gospell in me, who were able to boast of their *long Prayers*, and *broad phylactaries*, and of their *fasting twice a Weeke*, that I will offer to thinke my selfe *more temperate then the Apostles*. Yet, Sir, I dare once more challenge you, & the *preciseſt* of your *inspired informers*, to prove me at any time guilty of the breach of the *Text* you quote against *Surfeiting*, and *Drunkennes*. *Luk.* 21. 34. That part of your *Paragraph*, therefore, which ends in *exhortation*, is a piece of *Homily*, which returnes to you, to be made use of towards some other on the next *last Wednesday of the month*, where *Fasting*, and *Sobriety* will be *seasonable Theams*.

I grant, Sir, that *Reprobation is a Mystery to be trembled at.* Yet Sir, all they who (maintaining it to be *absolute*) doe revive the fiction of the three *destinies*, where one holds the *Distaffe* on which the *Thred* of every mans *Fate* is *spun*, and doe preach a piece of *Zeno's Philosophy* for a piece of Saint *Paul's Epistles*, can have no reason to accuse me of a *jest*, because I apply'd a *spindle* to the *Distaffe*, on which mens *fates* are *rolled*. Sir, in plainer termes, as *absolute Reprobation*, is a piece of *Stoicisme*, which was never held to be *Christian*, till it crept forth into the Church from the same *fancy*, which was the *wombe* in which the *Presbyterian Government* was formed, so me thinks, *Lucian*, Sir, (how cheaply soever you think of *him*, or *me*, for having closed my *last letter* to you with a piece of his *Nigrinus*) in his confutation of this *Heathenish Errour* (which hath made so many hang themselves) urgeth Arguments which would become one of the *Fathers* of the *Church*. I know not whether you have read his Ζῆνα ἐλέγχοντα. But if you have, he there tells you, that if there be such a thing as the *fatall Decree*, you speak of; 1. That all they who lye under the *Inflexibility* of it, being tyed by an unalterable *necessity* to do what they do, can in no reason be *rewarded* if they do *well*, nor with any Justice be *punisht* if they do *ill*. Next, that the *Sinnes* which they commit, (if they cannot but commit them) are not to be called *their Sinnes*, but the *Sinnes* of that *Decree* which laid this *necessity* upon them. And, therefore, Thirdly, that a *murtherer* (thus predestined) if he should be *arraigned*, may say to any *Judge* thus *stoically perswaded*. Why doe you accuse *me*? Pray call my *Destiny* to the *Bar*; and do not sentence *me*, but my *fate* to the Racke and Wheel. I was but an overswaying *Instrument* in this *Murther*; and was but such an *Engine* to my *Destiny*, as my *Sword* was to *me*. Though this were spoken by a *Heathen*, only in disproof of *Fate*, yet since Saint *Chrysostome* in more then *three Sermons* had said the same things in disproofe of *absolute Reprobation*, I hope, Sir, neither *Calvin*, nor *Piscator*, have so mistaught you to understand Saint *Paul*, as from any *Epistler* of *his* to conclude peremptorily, that any without their *desert*, are given up to a *Reprobate minde*, and *finally* struck & *necessitated* to a remediless *impenitence*. The 9. *Chap. of the Romans*, I have long since consider'd, and studyed it by the most *serene*, *impartiall lights* which might *unclose* the

the great *Mysterie* to me which lyes so obscurely there wrap'd up. And to deale freely with you, the best *Commentator* I ever yet met with to lead me through the darkness of it, was another place of *Scripture* or two set in presence, and *seale* with *this*, both which *joyned*, me thought, made perfectly the *Cloud* which guided the *Jewes* through the *Wilderness*, which was a *Cloud* to the *Egyptians*, but a *pillar of fire* to the *Israelites*. Sir, I know that neither Saint *Paul* hath written *Contradictions*, nor any other of the *Apostles* written that which is *Contradictory* to Saint *Paul*, &c, I presume, also, that *Aristotles Book* περὶ Ἑρμηνείας hath not so forsaken your *memory*, but you know that an *Universall Affirmative*, and a *particular Negative*, are a perfect *Contradiction*, and cannot both be *true*. Here, then, stands the case. You, building your *Opinion* upon the Βάθος or *great depth* of the *ninth Chapter* to the *Romans*, inferre from thence that *God gives Repentance only to some few*, whose peremptory will 'tis that *they only* shall be *saved*. Saint *Paul* in his first *Epistle* to *Timothy*, *Chapter* 2. *vers.* 4. gives us a *line* and *plummet* to sound this *Depth*; and sayes expressly, That 'tis *the will of God that all men should be saved*. Between these *propositions*, *'tis his Will that all shall*, and *'tis his Will that only a few shall be saved*, there is no *Medium*, in which they may be reconciled; but one of them must necessarily be *true*, the other *false*. This, then, being so, I have alwayes held it safer to build my *Faith* upon those *cleare* places of the *Scripture*, which have no *vaile* before their *face*, then those which are *mysterious*, and lead me to a Βάθος over which I stand *amazed*, but cannot from thence *infer*. I doe farther profess to you, that I am not so wedded to *this* or *any other Speculative Opinion*, but that, if you will shew more convincing *Scripture* for the *contrary*, I shall most readily renounce my *owne* thoughts, and espouse my self to *yours*.

Your *premonition* or *forewarning* of me that we at *Christ-church* would e're long taste of a *visitation*, hath since come to pass, and in part approved it self to be *true Prophecy*. Whether *inspired* by *you* or no, I know not, but there have been two with us, who have taken away as many *Copes* and *guilt candlesticks*, as if they had been *superstitious*. Sir, 'tis no wonder to me that in our times *silver* should be *Popery*; Or that *Church utensills* if they be *Gold* should be called *superstition*. But certainly, Sir, 'twas a great *misinformation*

mation to ſend them to ſearch for *Copes* or *things of value* to my *poor Proteſtant Chamber*; where there never was a *Cope*, though, perhaps, they might have found a long-diſuſed *Surplice*, there. And as for *Idolls of price*, if they had *ſearcht* my *purſe*, I beleeve that all the *popery*, which, in theſe *impoveriſhing* Times, they could have found in it, *caſt* into the *fire*, like the *Jewiſh Earerings*, would neither have come forth a *Silver Crucifix*; much leſs ſo *wealthy* an *Idoll* as a *Golden Calfe*.

Sir, ſince at length I underſtand you, that by agreeing upon the *true ſtate of the queſtions before we diſpute them*, you mean that we ſhould *agree* upon the *termes* in which they are to be *held*, I am very ready to comply with you in that *reaſonable* particular. But to accept of any, either of your *eleven Engliſh*, or your *three Latine queſtions*, in the *terms* in which you have *formed* them, I can by no meanes conſent. Firſt, Sir, Becauſe I find a piece of Artifice in the *Web*, and *contrivance* of them, which hath ſomething of a *Trap*, and *Snare*, and *Engine* in it. Which is, that by making them as *Popiſh queſtions* as you can, (eſpecially one of them) where you inſert the words *Miſſall*, *Breviary*, and *Pontificall*) words *odious* to the people, and part of the *diſmall ſpell* which for ſix yeares hath raiſed the *ſpirit* of *diſcord* to walk among us; if I ſhould hold it *affirmatively* under theſe *termes* of *hatred*, 'tis poſſible it may beget an opinion in the minds of thoſe that know me not, that, though I have more then once profeſt my ſelfe ready to *fall a ſacrifice* in the defence of the *Proteſtant Religion*, yet that this was but a *diſguiſe* which concealed my *hypocriſie*, 'till provoked I were put to defend the *ſuperſtitions* of the *Church* of *Rome*. Sir, I know upon what *leſſer grounds* then this, *ſome* in our *credulous times* have been unjuſtly called *Papiſts*. Next, Sir, if I ſhould hold them *affirmatively*, with their *faces* thus *looking* towards *Popery*, and ſhould bring them thus clothed in your *termes* of *ſuperſtition* into the *Divinity Schoole*, I doubt very much whether the *publickneſs* of the *Defence* may not draw an aſperſion not onely upon *me*, and the *Moderator*, (if he will vouchſafe to ſit in the *Chaire* whilſt we quarrell) but upon the *whole* already too much *diſtreſt Univerſity*, which *ſuch as you* have from numerous *Pulpits* called long ſince *Popiſhly affected*; But if it ſhould allow of ſuch a *Diſpute*, 'twould lend *fuell* to your *calumnies*, and be endangered

dangered to be no longer thought *Popish*, but out-right a *Papist*. Thirdly, Sir, your *first* and last *Question* (if they were purged of their *odious termes*) cannot *publiquely* be maintained without some affront to the *Parliament*, who by one *Ordinance* have put down the *Common-prayer-book*, by another *Episcopacy*. If, therefore, under your *termes*, I should *publiquely* stand up in defence of them, you had need procure a third *Ordinance*, which when I have done may keep me safe. Yet, Sir, to assure you that this is no *evasion* in me to decline a *dispute*, because my *Sermon* was the occasion of your *challenge* of me in the *Pulpit*, and of this *private conference* betweene us since; Since also you allow me the *liberty* of *alteration*, and to adde my *stroke* to the *Anvill* on which the *questions* to be disputed on between us are to receive the last *form*, and *shape*, in which, with least *offence*, and *scandall*, they may walk into the *publique*. Lastly, since the three Latine *Questions* you sent me are *three passages* of my *Sermon*, but so *corrupted* from *themselves*, as shew them to have been once purely *Protestant*; but passing through your hands have *degenerated*, and *clothed* themselves with a to-be-suspected *robe* of *Popery*, the neerest way I know for us to agree upon their *true state* is to deale with them as the *Bishops* at the *Reformation* dealt with the *Religion* of the *Church* of *Rome*; that is, purge them from their *corruptions*, and restore them to the *Primitive rule* from whence they have digrest. Which *Rule*, being my *Sermon*, (if you read it with open eyes) precipitates you with your *three questions*, in this more *genuine forme*.

Liturgia Anglicana ideò reformanda sit, quia nonnullæ partes ab Ecclesiâ Romanâ mutuata est. Neg.

Christi, Sanctorumq; imagines in Reformator. Ecclesiis ritè retineri possint. Aff.

An *Regimen Ecclesiæ Anglicanæ per Episcopos sit Antichristianum, ex eo quòd Ecclesia Romana (quâ nonnulli sedem Antichristi statuunt) sic gubernatur.* Neg.

Vpon these *three Questions* (which are but *three periods* of my *Sermon* cast into a *problematicall forme*) if you approve of them, and, like a *generous Adversary*, will promise me, that neither for *sending* of them to you *now*, nor for *defending* them *hereafter*,

I shall be question'd, (for this I require no other *security* but your *word*) I will not faile (God assisting me) to meet you in the *Divinity Schoole* at *University weapons*, when ever you shall think fit to call upon me; and to bring with you those *Arguments*, which, you say, you *reserve for that place*, and in your *two letters* have not vouchsafed to afford me, who doe daily pray (for I begin to be weary of *fighting* with *shades*) that this *unnecessary conflict* may at length end in a *Christian peace* betweene *you* the *opponent*, and *me* the *defender* of

The Sermon *against*
False Prophets,

From my Chamber this Afternoone, Feb. 4. 1646. J. MAYNE.

In the *evening* to the *afternoone*, in which this Letter was sent, M. *Cheynell* returned an *Answer*, not so *large*, I confesse, as I expected; but composed of *Language*, so *complying* with my *desires*, that I unfainedly felt a new strife within my self, how, having hitherto tolerably borne his *rougher assaults*, I should preserve my self from being conquer'd by his *civilities*. Which I confesse, have such a *forcible charme* upon my *nature*, *softend*, and *tutor'd* to it by *Religion*, that the World cannot afford an *Enemy*, who shall raise such a *tempest* of *persecution* against me, but that I shall be ready to afford him my *Imbraces*, and *Armes*, if he will be content to be received there in a *calme*. I do farther confesse, that M. *Cheynell*, by undertaking to secure me against the *danger* which might have followed a *publique dispute*, hath not onely verified my expression, and shewne himselfe a *generous adversary*, but by that *engagement* of *himself*, hath made me see, what reason I have to complaine of my *hard fortune*, which hath left me onely the *will*, and not the *power*, to be in the like kind, as *generous* to *Him* back again. His *Letter* was to a *syllable* this.

SIR,

SIR,

You may be confident that the *Messenger* was not sent by *me*, becauſe he return'd *without* you and *without* his *fees*. I never writ up one *Letter* to *London* that did in the leaſt meaſure *reflect* upon you; if *your Sermon* had not been *printed*, I had not *ſpoke* one word againſt it. I deſire to deale with you in a *rationall way*, and therefore I doe accept of your *Academicall propoſition* or *challenge* ſo often ſent me; and becauſe I find my *prayers* in ſome meaſure *anſwered*, and *you* more *civill* then heretofore, I ſhall deale *freely* with you. I doe here under my *owne hand* aſſure you, that if you be *queſtioned* for defending theſe *Propoſitions* in a *Scholaſticall* way, (you know *reproaches* are not *Scholaſticke*) in the *publique Schools*, I will anſwer for you; the *Parliament* will not queſtion you for any *learned rationall debate* about *Prelates* or the *Common-Prayer-Books*, for the ſatisfaction of *your ſelf* and *others*.

I will meet you if you pleaſe, at the *Doctor* of the *Chaire* his lodgings to *morrow* about two of the clock in the *afternoon*; I doubt not but by his advice we ſhall agree upon *termes* fit to expreſs the points in *Controverſie*; if you like the *propoſall* be pleaſed to ſend your approbation of it in *two lines* by this *bearer*. to

Mert. Coll. Feb. 4. 1646.

Your friend to ſerve you,
FRAN: CHEYNELL.

To this *Letter* (which was the *laſt* I received from him) by the *ſame Meſſenger* that brought it, I return'd this *Anſwer*, which was the *laſt* he received from *me*.

SIR,

I ſhall (God willing) meet you to *morrow* at your *houre*, at the *Doctor* of the *Chaire's Lodging*. Where if you be as willing to ſubmit to the *termes* which he ſhall think fit to put the *Queſtions* in, which we are to *diſpute* upon as I ſhall be, there will be no *variance* between us there, nor ſhall we I hope, bring any with us from the *Divinity School*. Where Sir, you ſhall meet *one* who is ſo great a *lover* of *truth*, that if you can *convince* me for

 being

being all this while in an *Errour*, I ſhall think my ſelf indeed, a *gainer* by this *conflict*. And no longer ſtile my ſelf the *defender* of the *Sermon* againſt *False Prophets*, but *one*, who for being *confuted* by *you* ought to remain

From my Chamber, *Your* Affectionate friend
Feb. 4. 164⅙. *and* Servant,
JASPER MAYNE.

Here, if any be *curious* to know how this *laſt act* of our *conference* ended, or what *Cataſtrophe* did ſhut up the *conflict* between us, which had ſo much *buſie Epitaſis* and *expectation* in it, I could wiſh Maſter *Cheynell* himſelf were the *Hiſtorian*. Nevertheleſs, none will have reaſon to thinke me *partiall* or *unfaithfull* in my *Report*, having not only Maſter *Wilkinſon*, if I deliver *falſe ſtory*, but the *Doctor* of the *Chaire* to *diſprove*, and *contradict* me. At whoſe *lodging* in *Chriſt-church* when we met, Firſt, with a *prudence* becoming the *gravity* of his *perſon*, and the *Dignity* of his *place*, he told us, that he could not think it fit to ſit *moderatour* to any *diſputation* which was not either *pro forma*, and conduced to the taking of a *degree*, or *pro Termino*, which is a *Divinity exerciſe*, at which the *Univerſity Statutes* require his preſence in the *chaire*. Next, if we reſolved to meet in the *Schools* without a *moderatour*, his *advice* was, that Maſter *Cheynell* ſhould have his *ſcribe* and I *mine*, to write down faithfully his *Arguments* and my *Replyes*: which thus *taken* and *compared*, would not be ſo liable to the *variations* of *report*, as when the *eares* and *memories* of the *hearers* are their *only Regiſter*.

There remained but one *difficulty*, which was how to make us *agree* upon *queſtions* fit to be *diſputed* in ſuch a *publike way*. M. *Cheynell* utterly refuſed *Mine*, and the *Doctor* of the *Chaire* thought it no way *reaſonable*, that in the *dangerous attire* they wore, I ſhould accept of *his*; eſpecially the *firſt*. Which upon M. *Cheynells* unlocking of the full *extent* and *meaning* of the *termes*, revealed it ſelf to be a kinde of *Trojan horſe*; *conſecrated* indeed to *Pallas* without, but lined with an *Ambuſh* of *Armed enemies* within. For, beſides the Words *Miſſall*, *Breviary*, and *Pontificall* (againſt which I before gave in my *exceptions*) by *A prælatis decerpta*,

cerpta, populoq, obtruſa, Maſter *Cheynell* ſaid, he not only meant thoſe parts of our *Engliſh Lyturgie* which have been borrowed from the *Church* of *Rome*, but the *Scotch Lyturgie* too, as it was impoſed upon that *Nation* by the *Sword*. Which, though it were a miſtake in him to ſay it was *impoſed* by the *ſword*, (ſince the date of the *reception* of it in that *Church* was the year 1637. At which time the *Sword* of both *Nations* lodged peaceably in the *Scabberd*) and though upon the peruſall of it ſince, I finde it the ſame in all points with ours, but only in the contraction of the *forme* of the *Adminiſtration* of the *Lords Supper*, and ſo for the matter of it as *defenſible* as *ours*, yet having been turned out of that *Kingdome*, and *Church* as ſolemnly as it was at firſt introduced, that is, by an *Act of Parliament*; To whoſe birth the *King* and *Houſes* concurred, for me to have diſputed *publiquely* for the ſecond reception of it, had been the way not only to raiſe a *Northern Army* of men againſt my ſelf, (who would, doubtleſs, have thought it a very *bold piece* of *inſolence* in me to diſallow in a *publique diſpute*, the *proceedings* of a whole *State*) but of ſuch *Northerne Women* too, whoſe *zeale* upon the firſt reading of that *innocent Lyturgie*, miſtook it for the *Maſs booke*, and thereupon converted their *Joynt-ſtools*, upon which they ſate, into *Weapons*, with which they invaded the *Reader*, and chaced him, with his *Newborn Popery* in his hand, out of the *Church*. Theſe *Reaſons* being layed to thoſe other, which in my laſt *letter* but one, produced to ſhew how ſcandalous, as well as unſafe, it would in all likelyhood, prove both to the *Univerſity* and *my ſelf*, if I ſhould *publiquely* maintaine a *queſtion* which carryed ſo much *danger* with it, I preſt M. *Cheynell* with the *intimation* which he gave me in his *laſt letter*, which was, to ſtand to that *frame* of *Queſtions* which the *Doctor* of the *Chaire* ſhould contrive for us. To whoſe *Ordering* of the *terms* of his firſt *Queſtion* if he would ſubmit, I promiſed him to accept of his *other two*; (though in the *Doctor* of the *Chaires* opinion, the *termes* of his *third Queſtion* were ſomething hard) in that *unaltered forme* into which he had caſt them. To this his reply was, that after the Words *populo obtruſa*, in his *firſt Queſtion*, he would allow me to inſert theſe two words of *Mitigation*, *ut fertur*. Whereto my anſwer was, that this *addition* would ſo litle deſerve the name of a *Mitigation*, that it very much

increaſt my burthen, and hung more *weights* upon me. Since hereby I obliged my ſelf, not only to ſtand up for the *Re-admiſſion* of the *Scotch Lyturgie*; which could not be done without an *aſſent* offered to the *Act* of *State* that baniſht it, but for the *Juſtification* of all the *unknown practices* of the *Prelates*, who had the contrivance of that *Lyturgie*, againſt the *Siniſter reports*, and *Calumnies* of the *incenſed people*. Who, as for ſome yeares, they have been falſely taught to thinke the *Order* of *Biſhops Antichriſtian*, ſo looking upon their *perſons* through the *miſt* caſt by ſome *Falſe Prophets* before their eyes, it ought to be no wonder if their *beſt Actions* have ſeemed *Popery*. The *Concluſion* of all was this. M. *Cheynell* at length, without any farther *Clouds* of *diſcourſe*, told me plainly, that to any other *alterations* then *this* he could not conſent; being *bound up* by his *inſtructions* to hold this *Queſtion* only in the *latitude* & *ſenſe*, which was ſignified by the *termes* in which he had *Arrayed* it. Whereupon, the long expected *ſcene* between us cloſed, and the *Curtaine* to this *Controverſie* was let fall. And *we*, after ſome mutuall exchanges of *Civility*, *parted*, I hope like *two Divines*, in *perfect Charity* with *one another*.

THE END.

ΟΧΛΟ-ΜΑΧΙΑ.

OR

THE PEOPLES WAR,

EXAMINED

According to the Principles of

SCRIPTURE & REASON,

IN

Two of the moſt Plauſible

Pretences of it.

IN ANSWER

To a LETTER ſent by a Perſon of Quality, who deſired ſatisfaction.

By JASPER MAYNE D. D. one of the Students of Ch. Ch. *Oxon.*

Rom. 13. 2.

Πᾶσα ψυχὴ ἐξουσίαις ὑπερεχούσαις ὑποτασσέσθω.

Printed in the Yeare, 1647.

Honourd Sir,

I Have in my time ſeen certain *Pictures* with two *faces*. Beheld one way, they have preſented the *ſhape* and *figure* of a *Man*. Beheld another, they have preſented the *ſhape* and *figure* of a *Serpent*. Me thinks, Sir, for ſome years, whatever *Letters* the *King* wrote either to the *Queene*, or his *friends*, or what ever *Declarations* he publiſht in the defence of his *Rights* and *Cauſe*, had the ill fortune to undergoe the fate of ſuch a *Picture*. To us who read them impartially, by their own true, genuine *light*, they appeared ſo many cleare, tranſparent *Copies* of a fineere and Gallant *Mind*. Look't upon by the People, (of whom you know who ſaid, *populus iſte vult deeipi, decipiatur*) through the *Anſwers* and *Obſervations*, and venomous *Comments*, which ſome men made upon them, a *fallacy* in *judgement* followed very like the *fallacy* of the *ſight*; where an *Object* beheld through a falſe deceitfull *medium*, partakes of the *coſenage* of the *conveyance*, and *way*, and puts on a falſe *Reſemblance*. As *ſquare*, *bright*, *angular* things through a miſt ſhow *darke* and *round*; and *ſtraight* things ſeen through water ſhow *broken* and *diſtorted*.

It ſeems, Sir, by your *Letter* to me, that your *Friend*, *with whom you ſay, you have lately had a diſpute about the Kings Supremacy, and the Subjects Rights*, is one of thoſe who hath had the ill luck to be thus *deceived*. Which I doe not wonder at, when I conſider how much he is concern'd in his fortunes that the *Parliament* ſhould all this while be in the *right*. Be-

ſides, Sir, Having lookt upon the Cauſe of that *Side* meerly in that *plauſible dreſſe* with which ſome *pens* have attired it, And having entertain'd a ſtrong *prejudice* againſt whatever ſhall be ſaid to prove that a *Parliament* may *erre*, it ought to be no marvaile to you, if he be rather of M. *Primes* then Iudge *Jenkins's* Opinion; And perſwade himſelfe, that the *Parliament* having, if not a *ſuperiõr*, yet a *coordinate power* with the *King*, in which the *People* is intereſſed, where ever their *Religion* or *Liberty* is invaded, may take up Armes againſt Him, for the defence of *either*. But then, Sir, finding by my reading of the *publick writings of both ſides*, that *both ſides* challenged to themſelves the *Defence* of one and the ſame *Cauſe*, I muſt confeſſe to you, That for a while the many *Battailes*, which ſo often *coloured* our fields with *Bloud*, appeared to me like *Battails* fought in *Dreams*. Where the *perſon* combating in his ſleepe, imagines he hath an *Adverſary*, but awake perceives his *error* that he held conflict with *himſelfe*. To ſpeak a little more freely to you, Sir, the *Kings Declarations*, and the *Parliaments Remonſtrances* equally pretending to the maintenance of the ſame *Proteſtant Religion*, and the ſame *Liberty* of the Subject, I wondered a while how they could make two *oppoſite ſides*, or could ſo frequently come into the field without a *Quarrell*.

But ſince your *Friend* is pleaſed to let me no longer remain a *Sceptick*, but clearly to ſtate the *Quarrell*; by ſuffering the two great words of *Charme*, *Liberty*, and *Religion*, (from whence *both ſides* have ſo often made their *Recruits*) to ſtand no longer as a *Salamis*, or *controverted Iland* between two equall *Challengers*; And ſince he is pleaſed to eſpouſe the defence of *them* ſo wholly to the *Parliament*, as to call the *Warre* made by the *King* the *Invaſion* of them; Both for *his* and *your* ſatisfaction, who have layed this taske upon me, give me leave to propoſe this reaſonable *Dilemma* to you. Either 'tis *true* what your *Friend* ſaies, that the *Parliament* hath all this while fought for the defence of their *Liberty*, and *Religion*, or 'tis only a *pretence*, and hath hid ſome *darker ſecret* under it. If it have been only a *pretence*, there being not a third word in all the

World

World which can afford so good *Colour* to make an *unjust Warre* passe for a *just*, the first *discovery* of it, will be the *fall*, and *ruine* of it; And the *People* who have been misled with so much *holy Imposture*, will not only hate it for the *Hypocrisie*, but the *Injustice* too. If it be *true*, yet I cannot see how they are hereby advantaged, or how, *either* or *both* these joyned can *legitimate* their *Armes*.

For *first*, Sir, I would fain know of your *friend*, what he means by the *Liberty* of the *Subject*. I presume he doth not mean a *Releasement from servitude*. Since amongst all their other *complaints*, delivered in *Petitions* to the *Parliament*, they never yet adventured to say that they were govern'd as *Servants* by a hard *Master*, not as *Subjects* by a *Prince*. Nor doe I find that the *King* was such a *Pharaoh* to them, that they were able to say, that he changed a *Kingdome* of *Freemen* into a *House* of *Bondage*. Some *Acts* of his *Government*, I confesse, some have call'd *Illegal*; namely the exaction of *Ship-mony*. But this certainly, was a *grievance* which if it had not been *redrest*, deserved not to be reckoned among the *Brick-kills* of *Ægypt*, or to denominate his *Government despoticall* too.

Next then, doth your *friend*, by *Liberty*, meane a *Releasement* from *Tyranny*, as *Tyranny* allowes men to be *Subjects*, but not much removed from *slaves*? Had the *King* indeed, made his *Will* the *Rule* of his *Government*, and had his *Will* revealed it selfe in nineteen years of *Injustice*, had he like *Caligula*, worne a *Table-book* in his pocket, with the names of the *Nobility* in it *design'd* and *Markt* for slaughter; Had he without any Trialls of Law made his *pleasure* passe for *sentence*, and lopt off *Senators heads* as *Tarquin* did *Poppeys*; Had he in his oppressions of the People made them feele *Times* like those which *Tacitus* describes; where no man durst be *vertuous*, least he should be thought to upbrayd his *Prince*; where to complaine of hard usage was *capitall*; and where men had not only their *words*, but their very *looks* and *sighs* proscribed; his Raigne would

Sir, not to think it a digreſſion in me, if I deduce things ſomewhat higher then I at firſt intended, or then *your Letter* requires me; Or, if to cure the *ſtreame*, I take the *Prophets* courſe, and caſt *ſalt* into the *ſpring*; And examine firſt, How farre the *Power* of a *King*, (who is *truly* a King, and not one only in *Name*) extends it ſelfe over *Subjects*. Next, whether any ſuch Power doe belong to *our King*; Thirdly if there doe, How farre 'tis to be *obeyed*, and not *reſiſted*.

As for the firſt, you ſhall in the *Scripture*, Sir, find two *Originalls* of *Kings*, *One* immediatly ſpringing from the *Election* and *choice* of *God himſelfe*. The *other* from the *choice* and *election* of the *People*; But ſo, as that it reſolves it ſelfe into a *Divine Inſtitution*. The Hiſtory of *Regall power*, as it took Originall from *God himſelfe*, is ſet downe at large in the eight Chapter of the firſt Book of *Samuel*, where, when the *Iſraelites*, weary of the Government by *Iudges* (who had the ſame power that the *Dictators* had at *Rome*, and differ'd nothing from the moſt *abſolute Monarchs* but only in their *Name*, and the *temporary uſe* of their *power*) required of *Samuel* to ſet a *King* over them, *God* bid him *hearken to their voyce*. But withall * *Solemnly to proteſt* and *ſhew them the manner* (or as one tranſlates it more to the *mind* of the *Originall*, *Ius Regis*, the *Right*, or *power*) of the *King* that ſhould raigne over them. That *he would take their ſonnes, & appoint them for his Charets*; And *their Daughters, to be Confectionaries, and Cookes for his Kitchin*. That he would alſo take their *fields*, *their Vineyards*, *and their Olive-yards*, *even the beſt of them*, *and give them to his Officers*; Laſtly, That he would take the *Tenth of their ſeed*, *and ſheepe*. And *yee*, ſaies the *Prophet* (which is a very characteriſticall marke of *ſubjection*) * *ſhall be his ſervants*.

* v. 9.

* v. 17.

All which *particulars*, with many others there ſpecified, (which I forbeare to repeat to you, becauſe they riſe but to the ſame height) may in other termes be briefly ſummed up into theſe two *Generalls*. That the *Power* by requiring

ing a King to be ſet over them, (ſuch a *King* as was to Raigne over them, like the *Kings of other* * *Nations*) diveſted themſelves of two of the greateſt *Immunities* which can belong to *Freemen*, *Liberty* of *perſon*, and *propriety* of *Eſtates*. And both theſe in ſuch an *unlimited meaſure*, as left them not power, if their *Prince* pleaſed, to call either *themſelves*, or *Children*, or *any thing* elſe their *owne*. * *V.* 5.

To this if either you, or your *friend* ſhall reply, that this was but a *Propheticall Character* of *Saul*, and a meere *prediction* to the people what *He*, made King would doe, noe true *Draught* of his *Commiſſion*, what He in *Juſtice* might, (ſince a *Prince* who ſhall aſſume to Himſelfe the exerciſe of ſuch a *boundleſſe power*, doth but verify the *Fable*, a *Stork* ſet over a Commonwealth of *Froggs*, They to be his *prey*, not He to be their *King*) To the firſt I anſwer *negatively*. That what is ſaid in the fore-mentioned Chapter by *Samuel*, cannot be meant only of *Saul*, ſince nothing is there ſaid to confine the deſcription to this *Raigne*. Nor doth any part of his Hiſtory charge him with ſuch a *Government*. Next, I ſhall grant you, that no *Prince* ruling by the ſtrict Lawes of *naturall equity*, or *Juſtice*, can exerciſe all the *Acts* of power there mentioned. Nor can his being a *King* ſo legitimate all his *Actions*, or ſo outright exempt him from the common condition of men, that what ever he ſhall doe ſhall be right. Moſt of the *Acts* there recorded are not only repugnant to the Lawes of *ſociable Nature*, or *juſt Rule*, (which forbids *One* to have *All*; and binds *Princes* themſelves in chains of *Reaſon*) but to the * Law of *God* in another place, which allowes not the *King* of his own choyce, to Raigne as he liſt, but aſſignes him the Law of *Moſes* for his *Rule*. From which as often as he broke looſe, he ſinned like one of the People. yet ſo, as that upon any ſuch breach of the *Law* 'twas not left in the power of the People to *correct* him, or to *force* him by a *Warre*, like *ours*, to returne back again to his *duty*. His commiſſion towards them (if you marke it well) ran in ſuch an uncontroleable * *Deuter.* 17. *v.* 16, 17, 18, 19.

ΟΧΛΟ-ΜΑΧΙΑ.

OR

THE PEOPLES WAR,

EXAMINED

According to the Principles of

SCRIPTURE & REASON,

IN

Two of the moſt Plauſible

Pretences of it.

IN ANSWER

To a LETTER ſent by a Perſon of Quality, who deſired ſatisfaction.

By JASPER MAYNE D. D. one of the Students of Ch. Ch. *Oxon.*

Rom. 13. 2.

Πᾶσα ψυχὴ ἐξουσίαις ὑπερεχούσαις ὑποτασσέσθω.

Printed in the Yeare, 1647.

Honourd Sir,

I Have in my time ſeen certain *Pictures* with two *faces*. Beheld one way, they have preſented the *ſhape* and *figure* of a *Man*. Beheld another, they have preſented the *ſhape* and *figure* of a *Serpent*. Me thinks, Sir, for ſome years, whatever *Letters* the *King* wrote either to the *Queene*, or his *friends*, or what ever *Declarations* he publiſht in the defence of his *Rights* and *Cauſe*, had the ill fortune to undergoe the fate of ſuch a *Picture*. To us who read them impartially, by their own true, genuine *light*, they appeared ſo many cleare, tranſparent *Copies* of a ſincere and Gallant *Mind*. Look't upon by the People, (of whom you know who ſaid, *populus iſte vult decipi, decipiatur*) through the *Anſwers* and *Obſervations*, and venomous *Comments*, which ſome men made upon them, a *fallacy* in *judgement* followed very like the *fallacy* of the *ſight*; where an *Object* beheld through a falſe deceitfull *medium*, partakes of the *coſenage* of the *conveyance*, and *way*, and puts on a falſe *Reſemblance*. As *ſquare*, *bright*, *angular* things through a miſt ſhow *darke* and *round*; and *ſtraight* things ſeen through water ſhow *broken* and *diſtorted*.

It ſeems, Sir, by your *Letter* to me, that your *Friend*, *with whom you ſay, you have lately had a diſpute about the Kings Supremacy, and the Subjects Rights*, is one of thoſe who hath had the ill luck to be thus *deceived*. Which I doe not wonder at, when I conſider how much he is concern'd in his fortunes that the *Parliament* ſhould all this while be in the *right*. Be-

ſides, Sir, Having lookt upon the Cauſe of that *Side* meerly in that *plauſible dreſſe* with which ſome *pens* have attired it, And having entertain'd a ſtrong *prejudice* againſt whatever ſhall be ſaid to prove that a *Parliament* may *erre*, it ought to be no marvaile to you, if he be rather of M. *Prinnes* then Iudge *Jenkins's* Opinion; And perſwade himſelfe, that the *Parliament* having, if not a *ſuperiõr*, yet a *coordinate power* with the *King*, in which the *People* is intereſſed, where ever their *Religion* or *Liberty* is invaded, may take up Armes againſt Him, for the defence of *either*. But then, Sir, finding by my reading of the *publick writings of both ſides*, that *both ſides* challenged to themſelves the *Defence* of one and the ſame *Cauſe*, I muſt confeſſe to you, That for a while the many *Battailes*, which ſo often *coloured* our fields with *Blood*, appeared to me like *Battails* fought in *Dreams*. Where the *perſon* combating in his ſleepe, imagines he hath an *Adverſary*, but awake perceives his *error* that he held conflict with *himſelfe*. To ſpeak a little more freely to you, Sir, the *Kings Declarations*, and the *Parliaments Remonſtrances* equally pretending to the maintenance of the ſame *Proteſtant Religion*, and the ſame *Liberty* of the Subject, I wondered a while how they could make two *oppoſite ſides*, or could ſo frequently come into the field without a *Quarrell*.

But ſince your *Friend* is pleaſed to let me no longer remain a *Sceptick*, but clearly to ſtate the *Quarrell*; by ſuffering the two great words of *Charme*, *Liberty*, and *Religion*, (from whence *both ſides* have ſo often made their *Recruits*) to ſtand no longer as a *Salamis*, or *controverted Iland* between two equall *Challengers*; And ſince he is pleaſed to eſpouſe the defence of *them* ſo wholly to the *Parliament*, as to call the *Warre* made by the *King* the *Invaſion* of them; Both for *his* and *your* ſatisfaction, who have layed this taske upon me, give me leave to propoſe this reaſonable *Dilemma* to you. Either 'tis *true* what your *Friend* ſaies, that the *Parliament* hath all this while fought for the defence of their *Liberty*, and *Religion*, or 'tis only a *pretence*, and hath hid ſome *darker ſecret* under it. If it have been only a *pretence*, there being not a third word in all the

World

World which can afford so good *Colour* to make an *unjust Warre* passe for a *just*, the first *discovery* of it, will be the *fall*, and *ruine* of it; And the *People* who have been misled with so much *holy Imposture*, will not only hate it for the *Hypocrisie*, but the *Injustice* too. If it be *true*, yet I cannot see how they are hereby advantaged, or how, *either* or *both* these joyned can *legitimate* their *Armes*.

For *first*, Sir, I would fain know of your *friend*, what he means by the *Liberty* of the *Subject*. I presume he doth not mean a *Releasement from servitude*. Since amongst all their other *complaints*, delivered in *Petitions* to the *Parliament*, they never yet adventured to say that they were govern'd as *Servants* by a hard *Master*, not as *Subjects* by a *Prince*. Nor doe I find that the *King* was such a *Pharaoh* to them, that they were able to say, that he changed a *Kingdome* of *Freemen* into a *House* of *Bondage*. Some *Acts* of his *Government*, I confesse, some have call'd *Illegal*; namely the exaction of *Ship-mony*. But this certainly, was a *grievance* which if it had not been *redrest*, deserved not to be reckoned among the *Brick-kills* of *Ægypt*, or to denominate his *Government despoticall* too.

Next then, doth your *friend*, by *Liberty*, meane a *Releasement* from *Tyranny*, as *Tyranny* allowes men to be *Subjects*, but not much removed from *slaves*? Had the *King* indeed, made his *Will* the *Rule* of his *Government*, and had his *Will* revealed it selfe in nineteen years of *Injustice*, had he like *Caligula*, worne a *Table-book* in his pocket, with the names of the *Nobility* in it *design'd* and *Markt* for slaughter; Had he without any Trialls of Law made his *pleasure* passe for *sentence*, and lopt off *Senators heads* as *Tarquin* did *Poppeys*; Had he in his oppressions of the People made them feele *Times* like those which *Tacitus* describes; where no man durst be *virtuous*, least he should be thought to upbrayd his *Prince*; where to complaine of harsh usage was *capitall*; and where men had not only their *words*, but their very *looks* and *sighs* proscribed; his Raigne would

beare that *Name*. But alas, Sir, you your ſelfe know, that theſe are *Acts* of *Tyranny*, which were ſo farre from being *practiſed*, that they have not yet been *faigned* among us. 'Tis true, indeed, certain *dark Jealouſies* were caſt among the people, as if ſome *Evill Counſellors* about the King had had it in their deſigne to introduce an *Arbitrary Government*. But theſe were but *Jealouſies*, blown by thoſe, whoſe plot 'twas to make the *popular hatred* their engine to remove thoſe *Counſellors*, that by their *ruine* they might raiſe a *Ladder* to their own *Ambitions*. For if the Calamity of *theſe times* have not quite blotted out the memory of *former*, people cannot but remember, that no *Nation* under Heaven, more freely enjoyed the Bleſſing of the *Scripture* then *we*; *every one ſecure under the ſhade of his own Vine*. perhaps a grape or two *extraordinary* was gathered for the *publique*. But if any did refuſe to contribute, I doe not find that like *Naboth*, they were ſtoned for their *Vineyard*. If therefore, the Gentleman your *friend* underſtand *Liberty* in this ſenſe, the moſt he can ſay for the *Parliament*, is, that they have taken up Armes againſt their *King*, not becauſe he *was*, but becauſe he poſſibly *might* be a *Tyrant*. Which *feare* of theirs being in it ſelfe altogether *unreaſonable*, and therefore not to be ſatisfied, could not but naturally endeavour (as we find by ſad experience it hath done) to ſecure it ſelfe by removing out right the *formidable Object* which cauſed it. which being not to be done but by the Removall of *Monarchicall Government* it ſelfe, could not but caſt them at length upon a *new forme* of *State*, or ſuch a *confuſion*, or *no Forme* of *ſtate*, as, we ſee, hath almoſt drawn ruine upon *themſelves* and their *Country*.

Once more therefore, I muſt aske your *Friend* what he meanes by *Liberty*. I hope he doth not mean an *Exemption* from all *Government*; Not is fallen upon their *wilde Opinion*, who held that there ought to be no *Magiſtrate*, or *ſuperior* among *Chriſtians*. But that in a *freedom* of *condition* we are to live together like men ſtanding in a *Ring*, or

Circle

Circle, where *Roundneſſe* takes away *Diſtinction*, and *Order*; And where every one beginning and ending the *Circle*, as none is *before*, ſo none is *after* another. This Opinion, as 'twould quickly reduce the *Houſe* of *Lords* to the *Houſe* of *Commons*; ſo 'twould in time reduce the *Houſe* of *Commons* to the ſame levell with the *Common people*. who being once taught that *Inequality* is *unlawfull*, would quickly be made *Docile* in the entertainment of the other *Arguments*, upon which the *Anabaptiſts* did heretofore ſet all *Germany* in a flame. Namely, that Chriſt hath not only bequeathed to Men, the *liberty* of his *Goſpell*, but that this *liberty* conſiſts in ones not being greater then another. It being an *Oracle* in *Nature*, that we are all borne *Equall*; That theſe words of *Higher*, and *Lower*, *ſuperiour*, and *Inferiour*, are fitter for *Hills*, and *Vales*, then for *men* of a *Kind*; That the names alſo of *Prince* and *Subject*, *Magiſtrate* and *People*, *Governours* and *Governed*, are but ſo many ſtiles *Vſurpt*. Since in Nature for one Man to be borne *Subiect* to another, is as much againſt Kinde, as if men ſhould come into the World with *chaines* about them; or as if Women ſhould bring forth Children with *Gyves*, and *ſhakles* on. Which Doctrine as 'twould naturally tend to a *Parity*, ſo that *Parity* would as naturally end in a *Confuſion*.

Laſtly, therefore, I will underſtand your *Friend* in the moſt favourable ſence I can. That by the *Parliaments defence* of the *Peoples Liberty*, he means the maintenance of ſome *Eminent Rights* belonging to the *Subiect*, which being in manifeſt danger to be *invaded*, and taken from them, could not poſſibly be preſerved but by Armes taken up againſt the *invader*. But then, granting this to be true, (as I ſhall in fit place ſhew it to be falſe) yet the *King* being this *invader* (unleſſe by ſuch an *Invaſion* He could ceaſe to be their *King*, or they to be his *Subiects*.) I cannot ſee how ſuch *Rights* could make their *Defence lawfull*.

For the clearer *Demonſtration* of this, I ſhall deſire you;

Sir,

Sir; not to think it a digreſſion in me, if I deduce things ſomewhat higher then I at firſt intended, or then *your Letter* requires me; Or, if to cure the *ſtreame*, I take the *Prophets* courſe, and caſt *ſalt* into the *ſpring*; And examine firſt, How farre the *Power* of a *King*, (who is *truly* a King, and not one only in *Name*) extends it ſelfe over *Subjects*. Next, whether any ſuch Power doe belong to *our King*; Thirdly if there doe, How farre 'tis to be *obeyed*, and not *reſiſted*.

As for the firſt, you ſhall in the *Scripture*, Sir, find two *Originalls* of *Kings*, *One* immediatly ſpringing from the *Election* and *choice* of *God himſelfe*. The *other* from the *choice* and *election* of the *People*; But ſo, as that it reſolves it ſelfe into a *Divine Inſtitution*. The Hiſtory of *Regall power*, as it took Originall from *God himſelfe*, is ſet downe at large in the eight Chapter of the firſt Book of *Samuel*, where, when the *Iſraelites*, weary of the Government by *Iudges* (who had the ſame power that the *Dictators* had at *Rome*, and differ'd nothing from the moſt *abſolute Monarchs* but only in their *Name*, and the *temporary uſe* of their *power*) required of *Samuel* to ſet a *King* over them, *God* bid him *hearken to their voyce*. But withall * *Solemnly to proteſt* and *ſhew them the manner* (or as one tranſlates it more to the *mind* of the *Originall*, *Ius Regis*, the *Right*, or *power*) of the *King* that ſhould raigne over them. That *he would take their ſonnes, & appoint them for his Charets*; And *their Daughters, to be Confectionaries, and Cookes for his Kitchin*. That he would alſo take their *fields, their Vineyards, and their Olive-yards, even the beſt of them, and give them to his Officers*; Laſtly, That he would take the *Tenth of their ſeed, and ſheepe*. And *yee*, ſaies the *Prophet* (which is a very characteriſticall marke of *ſubjection*) * *ſhall be his ſervants*.

* v. 9.

* v. 17.

All which *particulars*, with many others there ſpecified, (which I forbeare to repeat to you, becauſe they riſe but to the ſame height) may in other termes be briefly ſummed up into theſe two *Generalls*. That the *Iewes* by requiring

ing a King to be ſet over them, (ſuch a *King* as was to Raigne over them, like the *Kings of other* * *Nations*) diveſted themſelves of two of the greateſt *Immunities* which can belong to *Freemen*, *Liberty* of *perſon*, and *propriety* of *Eſtates*. And both theſe in ſuch an *unlimited meaſure*, as left them not power, if their *Prince* pleaſed, to call either *themſelves*, or *Children*, or *any thing* elſe their *owne*. * *V.* 5.

To this if either you, or your *friend* ſhall reply, that this was but a *Propheticall Character* of *Saul*, and a meere *prediction* to the people what *He*, made King would doe, noe true *Draught* of his *Commiſſion*, what He in *Juſtice* might, (ſince a *Prince* who ſhall aſſume to Himſelfe the exerciſe of ſuch a *boundleſſe power*, doth but verify the *Fable*, a *Stork* ſet over a Commonwealth of *Froggs*, They to be his *prey*, not He to be their *King*) To the firſt I anſwer *negatively*. That what is ſaid in the fore-mentioned Chapter by *Samuel*, cannot be meant only of *Saul*, ſince nothing is there ſaid to confine the deſcription to this *Raigne*. Nor doth any part of his Hiſtory charge him with ſuch a *Government*. Next, I ſhall grant you, that no *Prince* ruling by the ſtrict Lawes of *naturall-equity*, or *Juſtice*, can exerciſe all the *Acts* of power there mentioned. Nor can his being a *King* ſo legitimate all his *Actions*, or ſo outright exempt him from the common condition of men, that what ever he ſhall doe ſhall be right. Moſt of the *Acts* there recorded are not only repugnant to the Lawes of *ſociable Nature*, or *juſt Rule*, (which forbids *One* to have *All*; and binds *Princes* themſelves in chains of *Reaſon*) but to the * Law of *God* in another place; which allowes not the *King* of his own choyce, to Raigne as he liſt, but aſſignes him the Law of *Moſes* for his *Rule*. From which as often as he broke looſe, he ſinned like one of the People. yet ſo, as that upon any ſuch breach of the *Law* 'twas not left in the power of the People to *correct* him, or to *force* him by a *Warre*, like *ours*, to returne back again to his *duty*. His commiſſion towards them (if you marke it well) ran in ſuch an uncontroleable * *Deuter.* 17. *v.* 16, 17, 18, 19.

 ſtile,

ſtile, that his *beſt Actions* and his *worſt*, towards them, wore the ſame warrant of *Authority*. However therefore, *Regall power*, in the forementioned place of *Samuel*, be called the *manner* of what a King would doe, yet that *Manner*, (as I told you before) carryed a *Jus* or *power* with it *unqueſtionable* by the *Subiect*, to doe if he pleaſed *things unlawfull*. And hence 'tis that the *Prophet* tells the *Iews* at the 18. verſe of that Chapter, That in *the Day they found themſelves oppreſt by their King, they ſhould cry out for redreſſe to the Lord*; As the only *Arbiter*, and *Iudge*, of the *Deeds*, and *Actions* of *Princes*.

The Originall of *Regall power* as it took beginning from the People, you have moſt lively expreſt to you by S. *Peter* in the 13. v. of the 2. Chapter of his 1. *Epiſt*. Where exhorting thoſe to whom he wrote to order their *Obedience* according to the ſeverall *Orbes*, and *Regions* of *power* of the *States* wherein they lived, he bids them *ſubmit themſelves to every Ordinance of Man; whether it be to the King as ſupreme, or unto Governors, as unto them who are ſent by him &c.*

In which words I ſhall deſire you to obſerve. Firſt, that *Monarchy* as well as other *Formes* of *Government*, is there called Ἀνθρωπίνη κτίσις, a *Human Creature*, or thing of Humane Creation. From whence *ſome*, ſuch as your *Friend*, (who, I perceive by his *Arguments* againſt *Monarchy* in your *Letter* hath read *Iunius Brutus*, and *Buchanan*) have inferred, That as to avoid *Diſorder* and *Confuſion*, people did at firſt paſſe over the *Rule* and *Government* of themſelves to a *Prince*, ſo the *Prince* being but an Ἀνθρωπίνη κτίσις, or *Derivative* from them, doth ſtill retain a *Dependance* on his firſt *Creators*. And as in Nature 'tis obſerved that waters naturally cannot riſe higher then their *Spring-head*; ſo Princes, they ſay, have their *Spring-head* too. Above which as often as they exalt themſelves, 'tis in the power of the *Fountain* to recall it's *ſtreame*, and to bring it to a *plaine*, and *level* with it ſelfe. For though, ſay they, it be to be granted, that

that a *King* thus chosen is *Major singulis, superiour* to any *One*, yet he is *Minor universis, Inferiour* to the *whole*. Since all the *Dignity* and *power* which makes him shine before the *People*, being but their *Rayes* contracted into his *Body*, they cannot reasonably be presumed so to give them away from themselves, as that in no case it shall be lawfull to call for them back againe.

For answer to which *Opinion* (taken in by your *Friend* from his misunderstanding of that Text) I will goe no farther then the place of *Scripture* on which 'tis built. where (without any *criticall* strife about the signification of the Words) I will grant that not only *Monarchy*, (which is the *Government* of a *People* by a *Prince*) But *Aristocracy*, (which is the *Government* of a *People* by *States*) & *Democracy* (which is the *Government* of the *people* by the *people*) hath next, and immediatly in all States but the *Iewish* been Ἀνθρωπίνη Κτίσις, of *Humane Creation*. But then that 'tis not so purely *humane*, as not to be of *Gods Creation*, and *Institution* too, is evident by the words next in Contexture, where the Apostle bids them, to whom he wrote, to *submit themselves to every such Ordinance of man*, διὰ τὸν Κύριον, *For the Lords sake*. who by putting his Seale of Approbation to mens *Elections* and *choyce*, hath not only authorised a *Humane Institution* to passe into a *Divine Ordinance*; But towards it hath imprinted even in *Nature* it selfe such a *Necessity* of *Government*, and of *Superiority* of one man over another, that men without any other Teacher, but their owne inbredde *Instinct*, (which hath alwayes whisper'd to them that *Anarchy* is the Mother of *Confusion*) have naturally fallen into *Kingdoms*, and *Commonwealths*. And however such a state, or condition of life under a *Prince* or *Magistrate* be something lesse *free* then not to be subject at all, (since mens Actions have hereby been confined to the *Wills* of *Superiours*, whose *Lawes* have been certaine *chaines* and *shackles* clapt upon them,) yet a *subjection* with *security* hath alwayes, by wise men, been preferr'd before *Liberty*

with *danger*, & men have bin compelled to enter into those *Bonds*, as the only way, & meanes to avoyd a greater *Thraldome*. Since without such a *subordination* of one man to another, to hold them together in just *society*, the Times of the *Nomades* would return, where, Κρείσσων τὸν ἧττονα φῶτα δαΐζει, the *weaker* served only to be made a prey to the *stronger*.

The next thing which I shall desire you to observe from that *Text*, is, that the *King*, though chosen, and created by the People, is there stiled ὑπερέχων *Supreame*. Now Sir, you know that to be *Supream*, is so to be over others, as to have no *Superiour* above him. That is, to be so *Independently* the Lord of his owne *Actions*, of what sort soever, whether *unjust* or *just*, as not to be accountable to any but *God*. If he were, that *other*, to whom he is *accountable*, would be *Supream*, not He. Since in all things wherein he is *Questionable*, He is no longer the *King*, or ὑπερέχων there described, but a more *Specious Subject*. Whereupon will either follow this *contradiction* in *Power*, That the same Person at the same Time may be a *King*, and no *King*; or we must admit of an *Absurdity* as great; which is, That a *Supream* may have a *Supream*; which to grant were to cast our selves upon an *Infinite progresse*.

For that there must be a *Non-ultra*, or *Resolution* of power either into one, (as in a perfect *Monarchy*) or into *some Few*, (as in the *Government* by a *Senate*) or into the *Maior part* of the People joyning suffrages, (as in a pure *Democracy*; All three Formes agreeing in this, That some body must be *Supream* and *unquestionable* in their *Actions*,) the nature of *Rule*, and *Businesse*, and *Government* it selfe demonstrates to us. Which would not else be able to obtaine it's *ends*, or decide *controversies* otherwise *undeterminable*. And however this power may sometimes be abused, and strained beyond it's *just limits*, yet this not being the fault of the *power*, but of the *Persons* whose power 'tis, it makes much more for the Peace of the *publique*, that *one*, or *Few* should in some things be allowed to be *unjust*, then that they should be liable to be *Questioned* by an *Ill-Judgeing-Multitude* in *All*.

The

The third thing which you may please to observe from that peece of *Scripture*, is, The *Creation* of *Magistrates*, or *Governours*, who are there said to be *sent* δι' αὐτοῦ *By Him*. Where a *Moderne Writer* applyes the δι' αὐτοῦ or *By Him*, to *God*. As if all other *Governours* were *sent by Him*, not by the *King*. Which Interpretation of the place I would admit for currant, if by the Ἡγεμόνας or *Governours*, so *sent*, he did understand the *Rulers* in an *Aristocracie*, or *Free-state*. which being a *Species* of *Governement*, Contradistinct to *Monarchy*, cannot be denyed to have God, as well as the other for it's *Founder*. But then the word ὑπερέχων the peculiar *Epithet* of *Monarchy*, will beare another sence then I have hitherto given it; And will not only signifie the *King* to be *Supream*, (for so the *Rulers* of a *Free State* are within their owne *Territories*) but compared with other *Formes* of *Supremacy* to be the most excellent. *Monarchy* being in it selfe least subject to *Disunion*, or civill *Disturbance*. And for that Reason pronounced by the wisest *Statists* to be that *Forme* of *Governement*, into which all other incline naturally to resolve themselves for their perfection. But by *Governours*, in that place, understanding as he doth, not the *Senate* in a *Free-state*, but the *Subordinate Magistrates* under a *Prince*, the δι' αὐτοῦ most certainly belongs to the *King*. To whom the *Apostle* there assignes the *Mission* of *Governours* as one of the *Essentiall Markes*, and *Notes*, that He is, in His owne *Realm Supream*.

And thus Sir, having drawne the portraiture of *Regall Power* to you, by the best *Light* in the world, but with the meanest *Pencill*; I know you expect that in the next place I should shew you what *Rayes*, or *Beames*, of this *power* are *Inherent* in *our King*. Which being a taske fitter for one of our *greatest Sages* of the *Law*, then for *me*, (who being One who doe not pretend to any exact knowledg in the *Fundamentall Lawes*, or *Customes*, of this *Kingdome*,) which are to stand the *Land-marks* and markes of *partition* between the *Kings Prerogative*, and the *Liberty* of the *Subject*,

ject, may perhaps be thought by drawing a *line* or *circle* about *either*, to limne *Figures* in the *Duſt*, whoſe fate hangs on the *Mercy* of the next *Winde* that blowes) the ſteps by which I will proceed, (leaving you to the late writings of that moſt *learned* and *honeſt Judge Ienkins* for your fuller ſatisfaction in this point) ſhall be breifly theſe two. Firſt I will ſhew you what are the *Genuine markes*, and *properties of Supream power*; Next, how many of them have been *challenged* by the *King*, and have not hitherto been *denyed* Him by any *Publique Declaration* of the *Parliament*.

Sir if you have read *Ariſtotles Politicks* (as I preſume you have) you may pleaſe to remember that he * there di- *Lib.4. c.4.* vides the *Supream Powere* of a *State*, into three *generall parts*. The *Ordering* of Things for the *publique*, the *Creation* of *Magiſtrates*, and the *Finall* reſolution of *Judgment* upon *Appeales*; To which he afterwards addes the power of *Levying Warre*, or *concluding* of *Peace*, of making or breaking *Leagues* with forraigne *Nations*, of enacting or abrogating *Lawes*, of Pardoning, or Puniſhing *Offendors*, with Baniſhment, Confiſcation, Impriſonment or Death. To which *Dyoniſius Halicarnaſſenſis* addes, the power to call or diſſolve *Comitia*, or *publique Aſſemblies*; As well *Synods* and *Councells* in Deliberations concerning *Religion*; as *Parliaments*, or *Senates*, in Deliberations *ſecular* concerning the *State*. To all which markes of *Supreame power*, a * *Moderne Lawyer* (who only wants their *Age* to be of *Grot. lib.1. c.3. de Jure Belli & pacis.* as great *Authority* as *either*) addes the power to *exact Tribute*, and to *preſſe Souldiers*. In the exercise of which *two Acts* conſiſts that *Dominium Eminens*, or *Dominion Paramount*, which the *state*, (when ever it ſtands in need, And *that* too, to be the *Judge* of its owne *Neceſſity*) hath not only over the *Fortunes*, but the *Perſons* of the *Subject*; In a meaſure ſo much *greater* then *they* have over *themſelves*, as the *publique poole* is to be preferr'd before the *private Ciſterne*.

Now Sir, if you pleaſe to apply this to the *King*, though *good Lawyers* will tell you that the power of making or repealing

repealing *Laws* be not *solely* in *Him*, but that the *two Houses* have a *concurrent right* in their *production*, and *Abolishment*; yet they will tell you too, that His power extends thus farre, that no *Law* can be *made* or *repealed* without Him. Since for *either*, or *both Houses* to produce a *Statute Law* by *themselves*, hath alwaies, in this State, been thought a *Birth* as *Monstrous* as if a *Child* should be *begotten* by a *Mother* upon *her selfe*. *They* usually are the *Matrice* and *Womb*, where *Lawes* receive their first *Impregnation*, and are *shap't* and *formed* for the *publique*; But (besides the opinion of all present *Lawyers* of this Kingdome, who, like that great * *example* of *Loyalty*, dare speak their knowledge) it hath alwaies been acknowledged by the *Law* made 2. *H.* 5. By the *sentence* of *Refusall*, *Le Roy S' Aviser a*, and indeed by all Parliaments of *former Ages*, That the *King* is thus farre *Pater Patriæ*: that these *Lawes* are but *abortive* unlesse his *Consent* passe upon them. A *Negative power* He hath then, though not an out-right *Legislative*. And if it be here objected, by your *Friend*, that the *two Houses* severally have so too, I shall perhaps grant it, if in this particular, they will be *modest*, and content to go sharers in this *Power*; And no longer challenge to their *Ordinances* the legality & force of *Acts of Parliament*.

* Judg Jenkins.

As for the other parts of *Royalty*, which I reckoned up to you; As the *Creation* of *Officers*, and *Counsellours* of *State*, of *Iudges* for *Law*, and Commanders for Warre, the Ordering of the *Militia* by Sea and Land, The *Benefit* of *Confiscations*, and *Escheats* where Families want an *Heyre*; The power to *absolve* and *pardon*, where the *Law* hath *Condemned*; The power to *call* and *dissolve Parliaments*, As also the Receipt of Custome and Tribute, with many other particulars, which you are able to suggest to your selfe. They have alwaies been held to be such undoubted *Flowers* of this *Crowne*, that every one of them like his *Coyne* (which you know Sir, is by the *Law* of this Land *Treason* to *counterfeit*, which is an other mark of *Royalty*) hath in all *Ages* but *Ours*, worne the Kings *Image*,

mage, and ſuperſcription upon it. Not to be invaded by any, without the crime of *Rebellion*.

And though (as your *Friend* ſaies,) this be but a *regulated power*, and riſe no higher in the *juſt exerciſe* of theſe *Acts*, then a *Truſt* committed by the *Lawes* of this *Kingdome*, for the Government of it, to the *King*, (for I never yet perceived by any of His *Declarations*, That His Majeſty claimed theſe as due to Him by *Right* of *Conqueſt*, or any other of thoſe *Abſolute*, and *Vnlimited* waies, which might render His Crowne *Patrimoniall* to Him, or ſuch an out-right *Allodium* that He might *Alienate* it, or chuſe His *Succeſſour*, or Rule as He pleaſed Himſelfe) yet as in the *making* of theſe *Lawes* He holds the *firſt place*, ſo none of theſe *Rights* which he derives from them, can without His own *Conſent*, be taken from Him.

For proofe hereof, I will only inſtance in three particulars to you, (for I muſt remember, that I am now writing a *Letter* to you, not penning a *Treatiſe*,) which will carry the greater force of perſwaſion, becauſe conſeſt by this *Parliament*. The firſt was an *Act* preſented to the *King* for the ſetling of the *Militia*, for a limited time in ſuch Hands as they might *conſide* in. A clear Argument, that without ſuch an *Act* paſt by the *King*, the *two Houſes* had nothing to do with the *Ordering* of it. Another was one of the *Nineteen Propoſitions*, where twas deſired that the *Nomination* of all *Officers*, and *Counſellours* of *State*, might, for the future go by the *Maior part* of *Voyces* of *both Houſes*. Another Argument, That the *King* hath hitherto in all ſuch *Nominations*, been the only *Fountaine* of *Honour*. The third was, the paſſing of the *Act* for the *Continuation* of this *Parliament*; Another Argument, that nothing but the *Kings conſent* could ever have made it thus *Perpetuall* as it is. Many other *Inſtances* might be given, but ſo undoubtedly acknowledged by *Bracton*, By *Him* that wrote the *Book* call'd *The Prerogative of Parliaments*, (who is thought to be Sir *Walter Raleigh*) By Sir *Edward Cooke*,

Cooke, by the *ſtiles* and *Formes* of all the *Acts* of *Parliament*, which have been made in this Kingdom; and by that learned * Iudge who wrote the *Examination of ſuch particulars in the Solemne League and Covenant as concerne the Law*; And who in a continued *Line* of *Quotation*, and *Proofe*, derives along *theſe* and the *other* parts of *Supreme power* in the *King*, from *Edward* the *Confeſſour*, to our preſent *Soveraigne King Charles*, that to prove them to you, were to adde *beames* to the *ſunne*.

* Sir *Iohn Banks*.

Here then, For the better ſtating of the *Third thing* I propoſed to you, (which was, That granting the *King* to be *Supreme* in this Kingdome, (at leaſt ſo farre as I have deſcribed him) how farre He is to be *Obeyed*, and not *Reſiſted*) Two things will fall under *Inquiry*. Firſt, ſuppoſing the *King* not to have kept Himſelfe to that *Circle* of *power* which the Lawes have drawn about Him, but deſirous to walke in a more *Abſolute compaſſe*, That He hath in ſomethings invaded the *Liberty* of his *People*, whither ſuch an *Incroachment* can juſtifie their *Armes*. Next, If it be proved that He hath kept within his *Line*, and only made the *Law* the *Rule* of His *Government*, whether a bare *Fear* or *Iealouſie*, That when ever he ſhould be able, He would change this *Rule*, (which is the moſt that can be pretended) could be a *Juſt cauſe* for an *Anticipating Warre*.

The Deciſion of the firſt of theſe *Inquiries*, will depend wholly upon the *Tenure* by which he holds His *Crowne*. If it were purely *Elective*, or were at firſt ſet upon His *Head* by the *Suffrages* of the *people*; And if in that *Election*, His power had been *limited*; Or if by way of *paction*, it had been ſaid, Thus farre the *King* ſhall be *Supreme*, thus farre the *people* ſhall be *Free*; If there had been certaine *Expreſſe conditions* aſſigned Him, with his *Scepter*, that if he tranſgreſt not his *limites* He ſhould be *Obeyed*, if He did, it ſhould be lawfull for the *people* to *reſiſt* Him; Laſtly, if to hinder ſuch *Exorbitances*, there had been certaine *Ephori*, or *Inſpectours*, or a *Co-ordinate Senate*, placed, as

 Mounds,

Mounds, and *Cliffes* about Him, with warrant from the *Electours*, that when ever he should attempt to *overflow* his *Bankes*, it should be their part to *reinforce* Him back into his *Channell*; I must confesse to you being no better then a *Duke* of *Venice*, or a *King* of *Sparta*; In truth no King, but a more *splendid Subject*, I think such a *Resistance* might be Lawfull. Since, such a Conveyance of *Empire* being but a *conditionall contract*, as in all other *Elections*, the *chusers* may reserve to themselves, or give away so much of their *Liberty* as they please. And where the part reserved is *invaded*, 'Tis no *Rebellion* to defend. But where the *Crowne* is not *Elective*, but hath so *Hereditarily* descended in an ancient *line* of *succession* from *King* to *King*, that to finde out the *Originall* of it, would be a taske as difficult, as to find out the *Head* of *Nilus*; where the *Tenure* is not *conditionall*, nor hangs upon any *contract* made at first with the *people*, nor is such a *reciprocall Creature* of their *Breath*, as to be blowne from them, and recalled, like the fleeting Ayre they draw, as often as they shall say it returnes to them, worse then at first they sent it forth; In short, Sir, Where the only *Obligation*, or *Tye* upon the *Prince* is the *Oath* which He takes at his *Coronation*, to rule according to the *knowne Lawes* of the place; Though every *Breach* of such an *Oath* be an Offence against God, (to whom alone a Prince thus *independent* is *accountable* for his *Actions*) yet 'twill never passe for more then *perjury* in the *Prince*; No Warrant for *Subiects* to take up *Armes* against Him.

Here then, Sir, should I suppose the worst that can be supposed, that there was a time when the *King*, misled (as your *Friend* sayes) by *Evill Counsellours*, did actually trample upon the *Lawes* of the *Kingdome*, and the *Liberty* of his *Subiects*, derived to them by those Lawes; yet unlesse some *Originall compact* can be produced where 'tis agreed, That upon every such *Incroachment* it shall be lawfull for them to stand upon their *Defence*; unlesse some *Fundamentall Contract* can be shewen where 'tis clearely said,

that

that where the King ceaseth to *governe* according to *Law*, He shall for such *misgovernment* cease to be *King*; To urge (as your *Friend* doth) such *unfortunate precedents* as a *Deposed Richard*, or a *Dethroned Edward*, (Two disproportion'd examples of *popular Fury*; The one forced to part with his *Crowne* by *Resignation*, the other as never having had *legall Title* to it,) may shew the *Iniustice* of *former Parliaments* growne *strong*, never justifie the *Pitcht-feilds* which have been fought by *this*. Since, (If this supposition were true) the *King* being bound to make the *Law* His *Rule* by no other *Obligation* but His *Oath* at His *Coronation* (Then which there cannot be a greater, I confesse, and where 'tis *violated* never, without *Repentance* scapes *unpunish't*) yet 'tis a *trespasse* of which *Subiects* can only complaine, but as long as they are *Subiects* can never innocently *revenge*.

But this, all this while, Sir, is but only *supposition*; And you know, Sir, what the *Logician* saies, *suppositio nihil ponit in esse*, what ever may be *supposed* is not presently *true*. If *Calumny* her selfe would turne *Informer*, let her leave out *Ship-money* (a *grievance* which being fairely laid a sleepe by an *Act* of *Parliament*, deserved not to be awakened to beare a part in the *present Tragedy* of this almost *ruined Kingdome*) she must confesse that the *King* through the whole course of His *Raigne* was so farre from the *Invasion* of His Subjects *Rights*, that no *King* of *England* before Him, (unlesse it were *Henry* the *first*, and *King Iohn*, whom, being *Vsurpers* it concern'd to comply with the *People*, the *one* having *supplanted* his Eldest Brother *Robert Duke* of *Normandy*, the *other* his *Nephew*, *Arthur Prince* of *Britaine*) ever imparted to them so many *Rights* of his *owne*. To that Degree of *Infranchisement* that I may almost say He exchanged *Liberties* with them. Witnesse the *Petition* of *Right*. An *Act* of such *Royall Grace*, that when He past that *Bill*, He almost dealt with His *people*, as *Trajan* did with the *Pretorian prefect*, put his *sword* into their *Hands*,

and bid them uſe it for Him if he ruled well, if not, againſt Him. In ſhort, Sir, *Magna Charta* was a *Vsne*, I confeſſe, caſt over the *People*, but this *Act* enabled them to call the *ſhade* of it their *owne*. An *Act* which (if your *friend* will pleaſe to forget *Ship mony*) being in no one particular violated, ſo farre as to be inſtanced in by *thoſe*, whoſe preſent Ingagements would never ſuffer ſuch *Breaches* of *Priviledge* to paſſe *unclamour'd*, will oblige poſterity to be gratefull, as often as they remember themſelves to be *Freemen*.

This then being ſo, the next *inquiry* will be, whether a bare *Jealouſy* that the *King* would in time have *recalled* this *Grace*, and would have invaded the *Liberty* of his *Subjects*, by the change of the *Fundamentall Lawes*, could be a *juſt cauſe* for ſuch a *preventive Warre* as this. To which I anſwere, that ſuch a *Feare*, though built upon *ſtrong preſumptions* cannot poſſibly be a *juſt cauſe* for one *Nation* to make Warre upon another; much leſſe for Subjects to make Warre againſt their Prince. The Reaſon is, becauſe nothing can *legitimate* ſuch a *Warre*, but either an *Injury* already *offered*, or ſo viſibly *imminent*, that it may paſſe for the firſt *Dart* or *Speare* hurled. Where the *Injury* or *Invaſion*, is only contingent and conjecturall, and wrapt up in the *wombe* of *darke Counſells*, no way diſcoverable but by their own *revelation* of themſelves in ſome outward *Acts* of *Hoſtility*, or *uſurpation*, to *anticipate* is to be firſt *injurious*; and every Act of *prevention*, which hath only *Iealouſie* for its foundation, will adde new juſtice to the enemies *Cauſe*, who, as He cannot in reaſon be pronounced guilty of anothers *Feares*, ſo he will come into the Field with this great advantage on his *ſide*, That his *reall wrong* will joyne Battle with the others *weake ſuſpition*.

But alas, Sir, *Time*, (the beſt *interpreter* of Mens *Intentions*) hath at length unſeel'd our eyes, and taught us that *this* hath been a Warre of a quite *oppoſite Nature*. The Gentleman who wrote the *Defence of M. Chaloners Speech*, and *M. Chaloner* himſelfe, if you marke his *Speech* well, will

tell

tell you, that the *quarrell* hath not been whether the *subjects* of *England* shall be *Free*, but whether this *Freedome* shall not consist in being no longer Subject to the King. If you make, Sir, How the *face* of things hath *alter'd* with *successe*, How the *scene* of things is *shifted*; And in what a *New stile* they, who called themselves the *Invaded*, have spoken, ever since their *Victories* have secured them against the *power* of *any* that shall *invade*; If you consider what a politick use hath been made of those words of Inchantment, *Law*, *Liberty*, and *Propriety* of the Subject, by which the People have been *musically* enticed into their *Thraldome*; If you yet farther consider the more then *Decemvirall power* which this Parliament hath assumed to it selfe, by *repealing old Lawes*, and making *Ordinances* passe for *new*; If you yet farther will please to consider How much *Heavyer* that which some call *Priviledge* of *Parliament*, hath been to the Subject, then that which they so much complained of, The *Kings Prerogative*; so much *heavyer*, that if *one* deserved to be called a *Little finger*, the *other* hath swolne it selfe into a *Loyne*; Lastly, if you compare *Ship-mony* with the *Excise*, and the many other *Taxes* laid upon the Kingdome, you will not onely find that a *whippe then*, hath been heightned into a *Scorpion now*; but you will perceive, that as *these* are not the first *Subjects* who, under pretence of *Liberty*, have invaded their *Princes Crowne*, (so farre as the *Cleaving* of Him *asunder* by a *State Distinction*, which seperates the Power of the *King* from his Person) so *ours*, as long as he was able to lead an *Army* into the *Field*, hath been the *first King* that ever took up *Armes* for the *Liberty* of his Subject. Upon all which *premises*, Sir, I hope you will not think it false *Logicke* if I build this *Conclusion* so agreeable to the Lawes of the Kingdome, as well as the Lawes of God; That supposing the Parliament all this while to have fought, (as was at first pretended) for the *Defence* of their *assayled Liberty*; yet fighting against the *King* whose Subjects they are, it can never before a *Christian Judge* make

their *Armes* passe for just. But being no way *necessitated* to make such a *Defence* (their *Liberty* having in no one particular been assaulted, which hath not been *redrest*) if S. *Paul* were now on earth againe, and were the *Judge* of this *Controversy* between them and their Lawfull Soveraigne, I feare he would call their *Defence* by a *Name*, which *we* in our *Moderne Cases* of *Conscience* doe call *Rebellion*.

And thus, Sir, having as compendiously as the *Lawes* of a *Letter* will permit, given you, I hope, some *satisfaction* concerning the *first part* of your *zealous Friends dispute* with you; which was, whether the *Two Houses* (which he calls the *Parliament*) have not a *Legall power*, in *Defence* of their *Liberty*, to take up Armes against the *King*, I will with the like brevity, proceed as well as I can, to give you *satisfaction* in the *second part* of his *Dispute* also; which was, whether *Religion* may not be a *just Cause* for a Warre. The Termes of which *Question* being very *generall*, and not restrained to any *kind* of *Religion*, or any *kind* of *Warre*, whether *offensive* or *defensive*, or whether of one *Nation* against *another*, or of a *Prince* against his *Subjects*, or of the *Subjects* back again against their *Prince*, allow me a very large space to walk in. In which, least I be thought to *wander*, and not to *prove*, It will first be necessary, that I *define* to you what *Religion* in generall is; And next, that I examine, whether every *Religion* which falls within the Truth of that *Definition* may for the propagation of it selfe be a just cause of a Warre; and so whether all they who either are of *no Religion*, or a *false*, may not be *forced* to be of the *true*. Lastly, what the *Duty* of *Subjects* is towards their *Prince*, in case he should endeavour by force to impose a *Religion* upon them which they think to be *false*; and can probably make it appear to be so by proofes taken from the *Scripture*;

Religion then, (to *define* it in the nearest Termes) is saies
* 2. 2æ. q. 80. a. 3. * *Aquinas*, *Virtus reddens debitum Honorem Deo*, *A virtue which renders to God his just Honour*. This payment of

Honour

Honour to *God* as 'tis built and founded upon his *Creation* of us, by which he hath a *Right* to our *Service* and *Worship* of him, so in the *contemplative* part of it, it consists in these foure *Notions* or *Apprehensions* of him. First, that there is a *God*, and that there is but *One*. Next, that he is not any part of this *Visible World*, but something *Higher* and more *excellent*, then any Thing we see. Thirdly, that he hath a *providence* going in the World, and takes care of *Humane affaires*. Lastly, that he *made* and *created* the World. To every one of which foure, answers a *Commandement* in the *First-Table* of the *Decalogue*. Where the *first* describes His *Unity*, by forbidding the Worship of *other* Gods. The *next* his *Invisibility*, by forbidding any *Image*, or *Resemblance* to be made of Him. The *third* his *providence*, described there by two eminent parts of it. His *Omniscience*, by which he knowes the *Thoughts* of mens *Hearts*; and his *Justice*, by which he inflicts punishments on those whose *Thoughts* are disproportion'd to their *Oathes* and *Words*. The *Fourth* declares his *Omnipotence*, by which he created the World, and appointed the *Sabbath* to be the *Feast* and *Memorial* of that great Worke. From which *Speculative apprehensions* of him doe spring these *practicall*. That being such a *God thus known*, He is to be *Honour'd*, *Lov'd*, *Fear'd*, *Worshipt*, and *Obey'd*.

Now since mens *Religion*, or *Worship* of *God*, cannot in reason be required to reach higher then their *Knowledge* of Him, (for *Manifestation* is so necessary to *Obligation* and *Duty*, that if 'twere impossible to know that there is a God, 'twou'd be no sinne to be an *Atheist*) so if God had never made any *second Revelation* of Himselfe by the *Scripture*, but had left *Mankind* to their own *Naturall search* of Him, and to those *Discourses* of their *Minds*, by which they inferred that such an orderly *frame* and *Systeme* of things, where every one works to the *good* and *End* of another, is too *rationally* contrived to arise from a concourse of *Atomes*, or to be the Creature of *Chance*, and therefore must have

have some *Efficient Cause* higher, and nobler then it selfe, (since it implies a *Contradiction*, that any thing should be it's own *producer*) yet his bare *Creation* of the *World* represents so much of him, that without any other *Booke* or *Teacher*, all Ages have believed that there is a *God* who made the *World*; and that He hath a *Rule*, and *providence* going in it.

* *Grot. l. 2. de Jure Belli ac pacis c. 20.*

This then being so, 'Tis the *Opinion* of a very * *Learned Moderne Writer*, That if there should be found a *Country* of *Atheists*, or a *People* of *Diagoras Melius's* Opinion, or of the opinion of *Theodorus* the *Cyrenian*, whose Doctrine 'twas, *Nullos esse Deos, inane cœlum*, That there is no *God* nor a *habitable Heaven*, But that such *Names of Emptinesse* have been the *Creatures* of *superstitious fancies*, whose *fears* first prompted them to *make Gods*, and then to *worship* them; or if there should be a *People* found of *Epicurus* his opinion, who held that there were *Gods*, but that they were *Idle, careless, vacant Gods*, who troubled not themselves with the *Government* of the *World*, but past their time away in an *undisturbed Tranquillity*, and *exemption* from such inferior *businesses* as the *Actions* of *Men*, such opinions (supposing them to be *Nationall*) as they are contradictory not only to the Dictates of *Naturall Reason*, (upon which *God* hath built the forementioned *precepts* of the *Decalogue*) but to that universally received *Tradition*, That there is a *Divine power*, whose *providence* holds the scales to mens *actions*, and first or last sides with *afflicted Innocence* against *successfull Oppression*, so they would be *just Causes* for *a reforming Warre*. Not only because they are contumelious & reproachfull to *God* himselfe, but because being directly destructive to all *Religion*, They are by necessary consequence destructive to *Humane society* too. For let it once be granted that there is no *God*, or (which, with reference to *States*, and *Common-wealths*, will produce the same *irregular effects*) that he regards not mens *Actions*, nor troubles himselfe with the Dispensation of *Rewards* and *Punishments*,

niſhments, and the *Doctrine* of *Carneades* will preſently paſſe for reaſonable; That *Utility* is the *meaſure* of *Right*; And that he is moſt in the *wrong* who is leaſt able to defend himſelfe. That *Juſtice* is the *virtue* of *Fooles*; and ſerves only to betray the *ſimple* and *phlegmaticke*, to the more *active* and *daring*. In ſhort, Take away *providence*, eſpecially the two great parts of it, which raigne in the Hearts of men, *hope* of *Reward*, and *feare* of *Puniſhment*, and mens *worſt* Actions, and their *beſt* will preſently be thought *equall*. Whereupon *Lawes*, the Bonds of *Humane Society*, wanting their juſt Principle, which upholds them in their *Reverence*, will inevitably looſe their force, and fall aſunder; and Men will be Men to each other in nothing but their mutuall *injuſtice* & *Oppreſſions* of one another. 'Twas therefore the politick obſervation of an *Atheiſt* in * *Sextus Empiricus*, That, to keep men orderly, and regular in a *Common-wealth*, wiſe men at firſt invented *Lawes*, But perceiving that theſe, reaching only to their *outward Actions*, would never be well kept, unleſſe they could find a way to awe their Minds within too, as a meanes conducing to that end, πυκνός τις ὢν σοφὸς γοῦν ἀνὴρ τὸ θεῖον εἰσηγήσατο, one more *wiſe*, and *ſubtle* then the reſt, invented *Gods* too. Well knowing that Religion, though but fained, is a *conſervative* of *States*, upon conſideration of which *harmefull conſequences*, which naturally follow *Atheiſme*, and the deniall of Gods *providence*, 'tis the opinion of that *Author*, that as 'twas no *Injuſtice* in thoſe *Grecian Cities*, which baniſht *Philoſophers*, who were of this *Opinion*, out of their *Commonwealth*, ſo if there ſhould be found a *Nation* of ſuch *impious perſwaſions*, 'twould be no *Injuſtice* in any other *People*, who are not *Atheiſts*, by way of puniſhment, to baniſh them out of the *World*.

* *Adv. Mathemat.* p. 318.

Though this, Sir, were the opinion of *one*, whoſe works have deſervedly made him ſo Famous to the whole *Chriſtian World* (beſides the peaceableneſſe of his *Writings* which decline all the wayes of *quarrell*) that to *erre* with him

would be no disreputation to me, yet I must confesse to you, that I am so farre from thinking any Warre made for the *propagation* of *Religion*, how true soever it be, is warrantable, that in this particular, I perswade my selfe I have some reason to dissent from Him; and to think it a *Probleme* very disputable, if his supposition were true, that there were such a *Countrey* of *Atheists*, or *Epicureans*, who should deny that there is a *God*, or that he hath a *providence* going in the *World*; whether for that reason only another *Nation* might justifiably make Warre upon them. For first, What should give them Authority to doe so? Is't because men of this desperate perswasion doe sinne very grievously against God? Granting this to be true, to the utmost aggavation of their offence, that this *speculative error* in their Mindes, drawes a *practicall errour* after it in their *lives*, which is, not to pay *Worship* to a *God*, which either they think not *to be*, or not at all to *regard* them, yet this being but a crime against God, the same Author hath answered himselfe in another *Paragraph*, where he saies, *Deorum injuria Diis cura*, That *God* is able to revenge the injuries committed against *Himselfe*. Next then, is't because such an *Opinion* is destructive of *Humane Society*? Truly, Sir, though I shall grant that saying of *Plutarch* to be true, that *Religion* (which *Atheisme*, and the denyall of *providence* doe destroy) is, συνδεσμον ἀπασῶν κοινωνιῶν καὶ Νομοθεσιῶν ἕνα, one, (nay one of the firmest) *Bonds* of *Society*, and *supporters* of *Lawes*, yet I have not met with any *demonstrative* Argument, which hath proved to me, that there is such a necessary dependance of *Humane society* upon *religion*, that the Absence of the *One* must inevitably be the Destruction of the *other*. If it be, this is most likely to come to passe in the *State*, or *Commonwealth*, which is of this opinion among themselves; Not in a forraigne *State*, or *Common-wealth*, which is not. But since 'tis possible that a Countrey of *Atheists* may yet have so much *Morality* among them, seconded by *Lawes* made by common agree-

ment

ment among themſelves, as to be a *People*, and to hold the ſociety of *Citizens* among themſelves. And as 'tis poſſible for them, without *Religion*, ſo farre, for meere *utility* and *ſafeties* ſake, to obſerve the *Law* of *Nations*, as not to wrong or injure a *People* different from themſelves, ſo where no *civill wrong*, or *injury* is offered by them to another *People*, but where the *morall Bonds* of *Society*, and *commerce*, though not the *Religious*, of *Opinion*, and *Worſhip*, are unbroken by them, for the *People* not injured to make Warre upon them, for a *feard*, *imaginary conſequence*, or becauſe, being *Atheiſts*, 'tis poſſible that their example may ſpread, is an Act of *Hoſtility* which I confeſſe I am not able to defend.

For thirdly, Sir, ſuch a *Warre* muſt either have for it's end, their *puniſhment*, or their *Correction*. Their *puniſhment* can be no true warrantable *end*, becauſe towards *thoſe* who ſhall thus make *Warre* upon them, they have not offended. Nor can their *Correction* Legitimate ſuch a *Warre*. Becauſe all Correction, as well as Puniſhment, requires *Juriſdiction* in the *Correctors*, and *Inflictors* of the puniſhment. Which one *People* cannot reatonably be preſumed to have over *another People independent*, and no way ſubject to them, unleſſe we will allow, with that * *Author*, that becauſe *Naturall reaſon* doth dictate that *Atheiſme* is puniſhable, therefore they, who are not *Atheiſts* have a *right* to puniſh thoſe that are; which *Covarruvias* he Spaniard, who hath learnedly diſputed this poynt, and *others*, as learned as he, have not thought fit to grant.

* *Lib. 2. de jure belli & pacis c. 20.*

It hath been a *Queſtion* ask't, whether *Idolatry* be not a *Crime* of this *puniſhable nature* in one People by another, who are not guilty of that Crime. To which the beſt Divines, which I have yet read upon that Subject doe anſwer *negatively*, that it is not. For though it be to be granted that among the ſeveral ſorts and kinds of *Idolatry*, *One* is more *Ignoble* and *irrationall* then *Another*; And ſo the offence towards *God* is greater or leſſe as the *Objects*, to which men

terminate their *Idolatry*, are more *vile*, or *honourable*; As in those old *Heathens*, 'twas a more faulty *Idolatry* to worship a *Dogge* or *Crocodile*, or *Serpent*, then to worship things of a *Sublimer* kinde, namely the *Sunne*, or *heavenly bodies*, or *Soules* of famous men departed; And though all such *Idolatries* have deservedly been thought to be so many *Affronts*, and *Robberies* of the *true God*, whose worship is thereby misplaced, and spent upon *false*, yet having left behind him in his whole *Globe* of *Creation* no exact *figure* or *Character* of Himselfe, to be known or distinguisht by, nor any plaine *Teacher* but his *Scripture* to informe men of *vulgar understandings*, that there is but *one God*, and that that *one God* is only an *Intelligible Spirit*, and no part of this *grosse materiall World* which we see, wherever the *Scripture* hath not been heard of, if men (unable by the light of a *Naturall discourse* to apprehend him as *He* is) have fancied to themselves a plurality of *False Gods*, or made to themselves false representations of the *true*, S. *Paul* tells us that * *God connived* at it, as a piece of unaffected *ignorance*. which can never be a *cause meritorious* of a Warre to correct it. First, because being only an Offence against *God*, and the *Offendors* being (as I said before) *free*, and no way *subject* to any People but themselves, Any forraigne *Nation* (unlesse they can show the like Commission from God to punish them, as the *Jewes* had to punish and root out the *Canaanites*) will want *Jurisdiction*, and *Authority* to their Armes. Next, because *Idolatry*, though it be a *false Religion*, is yet as conservant of *Society* (which distinguishes it very much from *Atheisme*, and the deniall of Providence) as if 'twere *true*. Nor can I see why *He* who worships *many Gods*, if he believe them to be *Gods*, should lesse feare punishment for his *perjuries*, or other *Crimes*, then *He* who only worships, and believes there is but *one*. Lastly, because though *Idolatry* be an *Errour* in men, yet being an *Errour*, without the light of *Scripture* to rectify it, hardly *vincible* in *themselves*, and no way *criminall* towards *others* of a more

* *Act.* 17. 30.

more rectified *Reason*, 'Tis to be reformed by *Argument*, and *perſwaſion*, not *violence*, or *force*. Since a Warre made upon the *Errours* of mens *mindes*, is as unreaſonable, as a Warre made upon the *Freedome* of their *Wills*.

And for this laſt reaſon, I conceive that the propagation of *Chriſtian Religion*, cannot be a *juſt cauſe* for a Warre upon thoſe who will refuſe to imbrace it. Firſt, becauſe ſuch a *Refuſall* may poſſibly ſpring from an *Errour* in the underſtanding, which even in a *Preaching*, and *perſwaſive* way would ſcarce be in the power of S. *Paul* himſelfe, if he were on earth againe (unleſs he would joyne *Miracles* to his *Sermons*) to diſlodge. For though ſome parts of the *New Law* doe carry ſuch a *Muſick* and *conſent* to the *Law* of *Nature*, that they anſwer one another like two ſtrings wound up to the ſame tune; yet there be other parts, which though they doe not *contradict* it, are yet ſo *unilluſtrable* from the *principles* of *Reaſon*, that they cannot in a naturall way of *Argumentation* force *aſſent*. And you know, Sir, 'twould be unreaſonable to make *Warre* upon mens *perſons* for the reception of a *Doctrine*, which cannot convince their *Minds*. I muſt needs confeſſe to you, ſhould *Chriſt* now live in our daies, and Preach much harder *Doctrines* then thoſe in the *Goſpell*, and ſhould confirme every *Doctrine* with a *Miracle*, as he did then, 'twould be an inexcuſable peece of *Infidelity* in all thoſe who ſhould ſee his *Miracles* not preſently to conſent, and yeeld beliefe to his *Sermons*. But ſomethings in his *Doctrine* appearing *new* and *ſtrange* to the World, and depending for the probability of their *Truth* upon the *Authority* of his *Miracles*. And thoſe *Miracles* being *Matters* of *Fact*, wrought ſo many *Ages* ſince, and therefore not poſſibly able to repreſent themſelves to our *times* upon greater Authority and proofe, then the *Faith* and generall *Report* of *Tradition* and *ſtory*; If any ſhall think they have reaſon not to believe ſuch a *report*, they may alſo thinke they have no reaſon to believe ſuch *Miracles*, and by conſequence the *Doctrine* ſaid to be

confirmed by them. In ſhort, Sir, the *Goſpell*, at that very time when the Preaching of it was accompanied with *Miracles*, obtained not alwaies that ſucceſſe which the *ſaving Doctrine* of it deſerved. The *Jewes* ſaies S. *Paul* 1. *Cor.* 1. 22. *Require a ſigne*; that is, they would believe it no farther then they ſaw *Miracle* for it; And the *Greekes* (That is, the *learned Gentiles*) *ſeek after wiſdome*; that is, They would believe no more of it then could be proved to them by *Demonſtration*. Nay, notwithſtanding all thoſe great Miracles which were wrought by *Chriſt*, and his *Apoſtles* after him, S. *Paul* tels us at the 23. verſe of that Chapter, that the *vileneſſe* of Chriſts death did ſo diminiſh the *Authority* of his *Doctrine*, though confirmed by *Miracles*, that the Preaching of *Him crucified*, was a *ſtumbling block to the Jewes*, and *Fooliſhneſſe to the Greekes*. Next, Sir, As Chriſt hath no where commanded that men ſhould be *compelled* to receive the Goſpell by any *Terrors* or *Inflictions* of *Temporall puniſhments*, ſo I finde that all ſuch endeavours are very unſutable to his *practiſe*. You know what his anſwer was to his two *zealous Diſciples* who would have called for* fire from heaven, to conſume thoſe *Samaritans* who would not receive him. **ye know not*, ſaith he, *of what ſpirit ye are of. The ſonne of man is not come to deſtroy mens lives but to ſave them*. Which *Anſwer* of his was like the *Commiſſion* which he gave to his *Apoſtles*, when he ſent them forth to Preach the *Goſpell* to ſeverall Citties, which extended no farther then this. * *If they will not receive you, ſhake off the duſt of your feet againſt them, for a Teſtimony* that you have been there. Agreeable to this practiſe of Chriſt is that *Canon* which paſt in the *Councell* of **Toledo*, which ſaies, *præcipit ſancta Synodus Nemini deinceps ad credendum vim inferre*, "Tis ordered by this holy Synod, that no man be henceforth compelled to believe the Goſpell. A *Canon*, which I wiſh the men of the *Countrey* where 'twas made had worne in their *Enſignes* when they made Warre upon the *Indians*. And agreeable to this Canon, is the ſaying of

* *Luke* 9. 54.

* *v.* 55, 56.

* *Luke* 9. 5.

* *C. de Iudiciis diſt.* 45.

Tertullian

Tertullian, *Lex nova non ſe vindicat ultore gladio*; *The new Law allowes not it's Apoſtles to revenge the contempt of it by the Sword*. And agreeable to this ſaying of *Tertullian* is that paſſage in * *Procopius*; where one tells *Juſtinian* the *Emperour*, that in ſtriving to *force* the *Samaritans* to be Chriſtians by the Sword, he made himſelfe *ſucceſſor* to the two *over zealous Apoſtles*, who, becauſe they would not receive their *Maſter*, would have deſtroy'd them by *fire*. This then being ſo, to deale freely, Sir, both with *you* and your *Friend*, as often as I read the writings of ſome of our *hot Reformers*, who think all others *Infidells* who are not of their *Opinions*. And whoſe uſuall language 'tis towards all thoſe who differ from them in *Poynts*, though in themſelves *indifferent*, and no way neceſſary to Salvation, * Ἀνάγκαζον εἰσελθεῖν, make *Covenants*, raiſe *Armies*, ſtrip them of their *Eſtates*, and *compell them to come in*, me thinks a peece of the *Alcoran* is before mee; and the *Preachers* of ſuch *unchriſtian Doctrines*, though they walke our *Engliſh ſtreets* in the ſhape of *Aſſembly Proteſtant Divines*, ſeem to me to be a *Conſtantinople Colledge* of *Mahomets Prieſts*. To ſpeak yet more plainly to you, Sir, I am ſo farre from thinking it a peece of *Chriſtian Doctrine*, to Preach that 'tis *lawfull* (if it may not be done by *perſwaſion*) to take from men the Liberty even of their *erring Conſcience*, that the *new Army* which ſhall be raiſed (which I hope never to ſee) for the proſecution and advancement of ſuch an *End*, however they may be *Scots* or *Engliſh-men* by their *Birth*, will ſeem to me an *Army* of *Muſſell-men*: and to come into the field with *Scymitars* by their ſides, and *Tulipants*, and *Turbants* on their Heads.

* *In Arcanâ Hiſtoriâ.*

* *Luke* 14. 23.

How farre *Defenſive Armes* may be taken up for *Religion*, cannot well be reſolved without a *Diſtinction*. I conceive Sir, that if ſuch a warre fall out between Two *Independent Nations*, That which makes the *Aſſaylants* to be in the *wrong* will neceſſarily make the *Defendants* to be in the *Right*, which is (as I have proved to you) a want of

right

rightfull power to plant *Religion* by the *Sword*. For in all such *Resistances*, not only *They* who fight to preserve a *true*, but *They* who fight because they would not be compelled to part with a *false* *Religion*, which they beleeve to be a *true*, are *innocent* alike. The Reason is, (which I have intimated to you before) because All *Religion*, being built up. on *Faith*, and *Faith* being only *Opinion* built upon *Autority*, and *Opinion* built upon *Autority*, having so much of the *Liberty* of mens *wills* in it, that they may chuse how farre they will, or will not beleeve that *Autority*, No man hath *Right* to take the *Liberty* of another mans *will* from him, or to prescribe to him what he shall, or shall not *beleeve*, though in all *outward things* that *other* have sold his *Liberty* to him, and made his *Will* his *Subject*. where both parties, therefore, are *Independent*, and *One* no way *Subiect* to the *Other*, *Religion* it selfe, though for the propagation of *it selfe*, cannot warrant the *One* to invade the Others *Freedome*. But 'tis permitted to the *Invaded*, by both the Lawes of *God*, that of *Nature*, and *Scripture* too, (unlesse they be guilty of some preceedent *Injury*, which is to be repayed by *Satisfaction*, not seconded by *Resistance*) to repell *Force* with *Force*. And if the *Army* now in Conduct under Sir *Thomas Fairefax* be of this perswasion thus *stated*, I shall not think it any *slander* from the Mouth of a *Presbiterian*, who thinks otherwise, to be called an *Independent*.

If a *Prince* who is confessedly a *Prince*, and hath *Supreme power*, make Warre upon his *Subjects* for the *propagation* of *Religion*, the Nature of the *Defence* is much alter'd. For though such a *Warre* (whether made for the Imposition of a *false* *Religion* or a *true*) be as *unjust* as if 'twere made upon a *forreigne Nation*, yet this injustice in the *Prince* cannot warrant the taking up of Armes against Him, in the *Subject*. Because being the *Apostles* ὑπερέχων or *Supreme* within his own *Kingdome*, As all *power* concerning the publick, secular *Government* it resolves it selfe into *Him*, so doth the ordering of the *Outward* exercise of *Religion*

ligion too. In both Cases he is the *Judge* of *Controversies*. Not so *unerring* or *Infallible*, as that all his *Determinations* must be received for Oracles, or that his *Subjects* are so obliged to be of his *Religion*, that if the Prince be an *Idolater*, a *Mahumetan*, or *Papist*, 'twould be disobedience in them not to be so too. But let his *Religion* be what it will; let him be a *Ieroboam*, or one of such an *unreasonable Idolatry*, as to command his people to worship *Calves*, and Burn Incense to Gods scarce fit to be made the *Sacrifice*, Though he be not to be obeyed, yet he is not to be *resisted*. Since such a *Resistance*, would not only change the Relation of *inequality*, and *Distance* between the *Prince*, and *People*, and so destroy the *Supremacy* here given him by S. *Peter*, but 'twould actually enter *duell* with the *Ordinance* of *God*; which ceaseth not to be sacred as often as 'tis wickedly imployed. *Irresistibility* being a *Ray* and *Beame* of the *Divine Image*, which resides in the *Function*, not in the *Religion* of the *Prince*. Who may for his *Person*, perhaps, be a *Caligula*, or *Nero*, yet in his *Office* still remaine Gods *Deputy* and *Vicegerent*. And therefore to be obeyed, even in his *unjust commands*, though not *actively* by our compliance, yet *passively* by our sufferings. This *Doctrine* as 'tis agreeable to the Scripture, and the practice of the *purest*, and most *primitive* times of the *Church*, so I finde it illustrated by the famous *example* of a *Christian Souldier*, and the censure of a *Father* upon the passage. This *Souldier* being bid to burne *Incense* to an *Idoll*, refused; But yeelded himselfe to be cast into the *fire*. Had he, when his *Emperour* bid him worship an *Idoll*, mutinied, or turn'd his *speare* upon him (saies that Father) he had broken the *fift Commandement* in defence of the *second*. But submitting his Body to be burnt, (the only thing in him, which could be *compelled*) in stead of committing *Idolatry* he became himselfe a *Sacrifice*. I could, Sir, second this with many other Examples, but they would all tend to this one pious, *Christian Result*, that *Martyrdome* is to be preferred before *Rebellion*.

Here then, if I ſhould ſuppoſe your *Presbyterian Friends* charge to be true, (a very heavy one I confeſſe) that the *King miſcounſelled* by a *Prelaticall Court Faction*, when he firſt March't into the field againſt the *Armies* raiſed by the two Houſes of Parliament had an intent to ſubvert the *Proteſtant Religion*, and to plant the Religion of the Church of *Rome* in it's ſtead, yet unleſſe he can prove to me, that from that time he actually ceaſt to be *King*, or the two Houſes to be his *Subjects*, or (notwithſtanding their two Oathes of *Supremacy* and *Alleageance*) that in ſo doing he forfeited his *Crowne*, and was no longer *over all perſons, and in all Cauſes as well Civill as Eccleſiaſticall within the circuit of his three Kingdomes ſupreame Head and Governour*, I know no Armes which could lawfully be uſed againſt Him; but thoſe which S. *Ambroſe* uſed againſt an *Arian Emperour*, *Lachrymas & Suſpiria, Sighes & Tears*, and *Prayers* to *God* to turne his heart. And therefore, Sir, when your *Friend* doth next aske you, How it could ſtand with the ſafe *conſcience* of any *Engliſh Proteſtant*, to ſtand an idle ſpectator, whilſt *Queen Maries* daies were ſo ready to break in upon him, that He was almoſt reduced to this hard *choyce*, either to follow the *Times* in the *new* erected faſhion of Religion, or live in danger of the *ſtake*, and *Faggot*, if he perſiſted in the *old*, you may pleaſe to let him know from *me*, That as I have no *unruly Thirſt*, or *irregular Ambition* in me to dye a *Martyr*, Nor am ſo much a *Circumcelleo*, as to *court*, or *woo*, or (in caſe it fled from me) *enthuſiaſtically* to *call* upon me my own *Death* and *Execution*; So, if it had been my *Lot* to live in the *fiery times* He ſpeaks of, when a *Proteſtant* was put to death for an *Heretick*, as I ſhould not have quarreld with the *Power* that condemned me, ſo I ſhould have kiſt my *funerall pile*; And ſhould have thought it a high peece of *Gods* favour to me, to call me to *Heaven* by a way ſo like that of his *Angell* in the Book of * *Judges*, who aſcended thither in the *Flame*, and *aire*, and *perfume* of a *Sacrifice*.

* c. 13. 20.

But

But what if this be only a *Jealouſie* and *ſuſpition* in your *Friend*? Nay what if it have been the *Diſguiſe*, and *paint* to ſome *Ambitious mens* deſignes, who, to walke the more ſecurely to th ir *darke* and *politick ends*, have ſtiled themſelves the *Defendours*, when they have all this while been the *Invadors*; And have called the King the *ſubverter*, who hath all this while (to his power) been the *Defendor* of this *Religion*? This certainly if it be proved, will very much inflame and aggravate their *ſinne*, and dye it in a deep *ſcarlet*, through all the progreſſe of it. But becauſe I rather deſire to caſt a *mantle* over their *ſtrange proceedings*, then to adde to their *Nakednesſe*, which hath at length *diſcover'd* it ſelfe to all the World, all that I ſhall ſay, to deliver ſo much *Goodneſſe* from ſo much *miſrepreſentation* is this. That the *report*, (which at firſt *poyſon'd* the mindes of ſo many *Thouſand* well minded *people*) That the *King* had an intent, by this warre, to deſtroy the *Proteſtant Religion*, could at moſt have no other *parent* but *ſome* mens either *crafty Malice*, or *needleſſe Feare*, appears clearly in this, that after all their great *Diſcoveries*, they have not yet inſtanced in one conſiderable *Ground* fit to build more then a *vulgar Jealouſy* upon. The *Kings affection* to the *Queene*, His *Alliance* and *confederacy* with *Popiſh Princes* abroad and the *Gentleneſſe* of his Raigne towards his *Popiſh Subjects* at home, being *premiſes* as unfit to build this Inference and concluſion upon, that, *Therefore* He took up Armes that he might introduce their Religion, as his in *Ariſtotle* were; who becauſe it *lightned* when *Socrates* took the Ayre, thought that his *walking* cauſed that *commotion* in the *skyes*. For that the Root and Spring of ſuch a *report*, could be nothing but their own *deluded fancy*, they muſt at length confeſſe, unleſſe with their *Faith* they have caſt off their *Charity* too. Let your Friend, Sir, read over any one of His Majeſties *Declarations*, and what *ſacred Thing* is there by which he hath not freely, and uncompelled, obliged, and bound Himſelfe to *live*, and *dye* a *Proteſtant*? By what one *Act* have

theſe many *Vowes* been broken? Who made that *Court Faction*, which would have *miſcounſelled* him to bring in *Popery*? Or let your *Friend* if he can, name, who thoſe *Miterd Prelates* were, who lodged a *Papiſt* under their *Rotchet*. If he cannot, let him forbeare to hold an Opinion of his *Prince* and *Clergy*, which *Time* (the *mother* of *Truth*) hath ſo *demonſtratively* confuted; And let him no longer ſuffer himſelfe to be *ſeduced* by the *malitious writings* of *thoſe*, who, for ſo many years, and from ſo many *Pulpits* have breathed Rebellion, and Slander with ſuch an uncontrouled *Boldneſſe* and *Sting*, that I cannot compare them to
* *Revel. 9.* anything ſo fitly as to the *Locuſts* in the * *Revelation*, which crept forth of the *Bottomleſſe pit*; every one of which wore the *Crowne* of a *King*, and had the *Tayle* of a *Scorpion*. In ſhort, Sir, If he have not ſo deeply drunke of the *Inchanted cuppe*, as to forget himſelfe to be a *Subject*, let him no longer endanger himſelfe to taſt of their Ruine too, who, for ſo many years, have dealt with the beſt *King* that this *Nation* ever had, as *Witches* are ſaid to deale with *thoſe* whom they would by *peece meale* deſtroy, firſt *ſhap't* to themſelves his *Image* in waxe, then *pricke*, and *ſtab'd* it with needles. ſtriving by their many Reproaches of his *Government*, and Defamations of the *Biſhops*, to reduce his *Honour* by degrees to a *conſumption*, and to make it *Languiſh*, and *pine*, and *wither* away in the *Hatred*, and *Diſaffection* of his *People*.

But, perhaps Sir, your *Friend*, and *I*, are not well agreed upon our *Termes*: If therefore he doe once more ſtrive to perſwade you, that (notwithſtanding all this which I have ſaid to the contrary) the *King* would, if he had not been hindered, have deſtroyed the *Proteſtant Religion*, pray deſire him to let me know what he means by the *Religion* which he calls *Proteſtant*. Doth he mean that Religion which ſucceeded *Popery* at the Reformation, and hath ever ſince diſtinguiſht us from the *Church* of *Rome*? Doth he meane that Religion which ſo many *Holy Martyrs* ſeal'd

with

with their *Blood*, that for which Queene *Mary* is ſo *odious*, and Queene *Elizabeth* ſo *pretious* to our memories? Laſtly, Doth he meane that Religion which is compriſed in the 39. *Articles*, and confeſt to be Proteſtant by an *Act* of *Parliament*? If theſe be the *Markes*, theſe the *Characters* of it, let him tell me whether *this* be not the *Religion* which the King in one of his * *Letters* to the *Queene* calls the *only Thing of difference between Him and Her*, that's deareſt to Him. whether this alſo, be not the *Religion*, in which, if there be yet any of the *old Ore*, and *Droſſe*, from whence 'twas extracted, Any thing either *eſſentially*, or *accidentally evill*, which requires yet more *ſifting*, or a more *through Reformation*, Any thing of *Doctrine* to offend the *ſtrong*, or of *Diſcipline*, or *Ceremony*, to offend the *weake*, His Majeſty have not long ſince offered to have it paſſe the fiery *Tryall* and *Diſputes* of a *Synod legally called*. To all which queſtions, 'till *He* and his *Com-presbyters*, give a ſatisfying Anſwer, however they may think to hide themſelves under their old *Tortoiſe-ſhell*, and cry out, *Templum Domini*, the *Temple of the Lord*, They muſt not take it ill if I aske them one queſtion more, and deſire them to tell me, whether this be not the Religion which they long ſince compelled to take *flight* with the *King*, and which hath ſcarce been to be *found* in this *Kingdome*, ever ſince the time it was deprived of the *Sanctuary* it had taken under the *Kings Standard*

* *Cabinet Opened.*

This then, being ſo, hath your *Friend*, or his *fellow Aſſemblers*, yet a *purer*, or more *primitive Notion* of the *Proteſtant Religion*, which compared with the Religion which we and our Fathers have been of, will prove it to be *Idolatrous*, and no better then a *hundred years ſuperſtition*? Let them in *Charity* (as they are bound not to let us periſh in our *Ignorance*) ſhew us their *Modell*. If it be more agreeable to the *Scripture* then *Ours*, have more of the *white Robe*, and not of the *new invention*; we may, perhaps, be their

Converts; And their *Righteousnesse* meeting with our *Peace* may mutually *Kisse each other*. In the mean time, Sir, I hope they will not define the *Protestant* Religion so by *Negatives*, as to make it consist wholly in *No Bishops*, *No Liturgy*, or *No Common-Prayer Booke*. These *we*, (not yet convinced to the contrary) doe hold to be good *Conservatives*, but not *Essentialls*, of that which we call the *Protestant* Religion of our *Side*; Their *Negation* then, can be no *true Essentiall Constituent* of the same Religion on theirs.

There is but One *positive Notion* more in all the world, under which I can possibly understand *Them*, when They say, They have all this while Fought for the *Defence* of the *Protestant Religion*; That is, that by the *Defence* of the *Protestant Religion*, (if they meane *any Thing*, or if this have not bin the *Disguise* to a more *dangerous Secret*) They meane the *Defence* of their *New Directory*, and their at length concluded *Government* of the *Church* by *Presbyters*. If this be their Meaning, (And truely if I should rack my *Invention*, I cannot make it find another) The *Second part* of that most *Holy*, and *Glorious Cause*, which hath drawne the eyes of *Europe* upon it, and renderd the *Name* of a *Protestant*, a *Proverbe* to expresse *Disloyalty* by, That *Pure*, *Chast*. *Virgin*, without *Spott* or *wrinkle-Cause*, which like the *Scythian Diana* hath been fed with so many *Humane Sacrifices*, And to which, as to another *Moloch*, so many *Men* as well as *Children*, have been *compell'd* to passe through the *Fire*, resolves it selfe into this *Unchristian Bloody conclusion*. That an *Assembly* of profest *Protestant Divines*, have *advised* the *Two Parliaments* of *England* and *Scotland*, confest *Subiects*, to take up Armes against the *King*, their *Lawfull Soveraigne*. Have thereby set *Three Kingdoms* in a *Flame*, been the *Authors* of more *Protestants* slaine in a *Civill*, then would have served to recover the *Palatinate* by a *Forraigne Warre*, for nothing but this *unnecessary*, *novell*, *accidentall Consideration*, That the *King* (unlesse *compell'd* by

by *Force*) would never consent, (nor indeed without *Perjury* could) to the *Change* of an *Ancient, Primitive, Apostolike, Universally received Government* of this *Church* by *Bishops*, for a *new, upstart, Mushrome, Calvinisticall Government*, by a *Motley Presbytery*, of *Spirituall & Lay-Elders*. Which being (As I have hither to by *Principles* taken both from *Reason*, and *Scripture* proved to you) in the most *favourable* sense, a *Resistance*, if not an *Invasion* of the *Higher Power*, & that Higher Power being * διαταγὴ τοῦ Θεοῦ, *Gods Ordinance* must needs be θεομαχία or a *Warre* made against *God Himselfe*. And the *Authors* of it (unlesse they *repent*, and betake themselves to a timely *returne* to their *Obedience*) in danger to draw upon themselves this other, *sad, tragicall, irresistible Conclusion*, which St* *Paul* tels us is the inevitable *Catastrophe* of *Disobedience*, which is, ἑαυτοῖς κρῖμα λαμβάνειν, you may English it, *swift Destruction*. * *Rom.* 13. 2. * *V.* 2.

And thus, Sir (Though all *weake Defences* have something of the Nature of *prevarication* in them, and *he* may in part be thought to *betray* a Cause, who *feebly* argues for it) I have return'd you a *large Answere* to the *two Quere's* in your *short Letter*; which if you shall vouchsafe to call *Satisfaction*, you will very much assist my *Modesty*, which will not suffer me to thinke that *I*, in this *Argument*, have said *more* then *Others*. Only being so fairely invited by *you* to say *something*, to have remain'd *silent*, had been to have *confest* my selfe *convinced*; And my *Negligence*, in a *Time* so *seasonable* to speak *Truth* in, might perhaps, in the *Opinion* of the *Gentleman*, your *Friend*, have seemed to take part with *those* of *his side*, against whose *Cause*, though not their *Persons*, I have thus freely *armed* my *Pen*. Sir I should think my selfe *fortunate*, if Any Thinge which I have said in this *Letter* might make him a *Proselyte*. But this being rather my *wish* then my *Hope*, all the *Successe* which this *Paper* aspires to is this, that you will accept it as a *Creature* borne at your *Command*; And that you will place it among your other *Records*, as a *Testimony* how much greater my *De-*

sires